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HISTORY CATHOLIC MISSION HAWAII

FATHER REGINALD YZENDOORN S.S.C.C.

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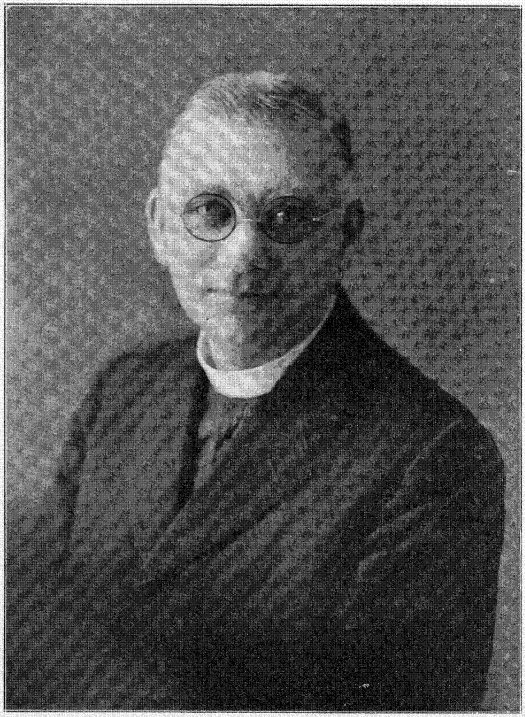

FATHER REGINALD YZENDOORN, SS.CC.

U. C. J. S.

HISTORY

of the

Catholic Mission *in the* Hawaiian Islands

By

Father REGINALD YZENDOORN, SS.CC.
Chancellor-Secretary of the Vicariate

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episc. Arabissensis.

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"Illud in primis scribentium observetur animo, primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, neque simultatis."

Epist. Leo XIII, Aug. 18, 1883.

Historiam scribere non panegyricum.
Nihil addere, nihil in majus tollere, more laudantium.

S. Hieronymus.

This, above all, writers should keep in mind: that the first law of history is that no one dare say anything false, and next, that no one be afraid to say anything which is true; less there be a suspicion that the writer seeks to carry favor or is actuated by malice.

Letter of Leo XIII, August 18, 1883.

To write HISTORY, and not a panygeric.
Do not add anything; do not exaggerate anything; as is the custom of sycophants.

St. Jerome.

Stephan Spaulding
mem. Coll.
Honolulu.
12-26-29

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Preface

During my four years' stay at Hilo, in the Island of Hawaii, I once visited the neighboring district of Puna, where my congenial confrēre, Father Ulrich Taube, conducted his flock Heavenward with music and with song.

The Pahoa Mission band was through rehearsing, and the native boys passed the rest of the evening with telling stories of by-gone days. One of these became the indirect cause of the present historical study.

As the story went, there had lived in the district, before the arrival of the first Catholic priest, a young Hawaiian girl who had foretold the coming of Catholic missionaries in terms to this purport: That one day there was to come a man dressed in a "kapa loloa," a long garment; he and his companions were the ministers of the true religion.

Kahapuu was the name of the Hawaiian maid. As part of her prophecy she was said to have taught the inhabitants of Puna the Lord's prayer, which she herself should have learned by Divine revelation. She died a martyr to the unknown faith.

In the Marquesas the arrival of the Catholic missionaries had been foretold in a similar way by another Polynesian prophetess. Maybe, I thought, our Fathers have told that tradition to the natives here, who in their turn have adapted it as a tradition of their own.

Back in Hilo I consulted old natives. They all knew the story. They all agreed to the different details and knew Kahapuu's prayer, which, however, was not the Our Father, and did not sound like a Catholic invocation. Further researches concerning my native druid confirmed the story, but made me doubt the supernatural source of the seeress' revelations.

After some time I was thinking of making Kahapuu the subject of a historical novel, when Bishop Libert advised me to write rather the History of the Mission in Hawaii. Much earlier the Very Reverend Father Marcellin Bousquet, Superior General of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, had expressed a similar desire, saying: "It seems that nothing is known of the apostolic labors of our missionaries and of the history of the people of Oceania. A missionary who would devote his hours of leisure to the composition of such historical study, would thereby perform a task both useful and agreeable to many people."

Thus encouraged I looked over the documents at my disposal in the archives of the Mission, and thought that I might attempt the task. This was in the beginning of 1908. After more than five years of patient and extensive research, I had the satisfaction of seeing the work completed. Bishop Libert, however, did not feel inclined to have it published, but after the Prelate's demise, Bishop Stephen ordered the author to give it to the press. The last chapter was rewritten and a new one added, bringing the History up-to-date, and making it embrace the entire century which has elapsed since the departure of the first Catholic missionaries from France for the Hawaiian shores.

Unlike many other Ecclesiastical Histories, this History is neither apologetic nor controversial. No such needs have prompted the writing of its pages. As it is the duty of every man to oppose error, when its toleration would not be for the greater good, I have not reproached nor condemned the Protestant missionaries for opposing with all their might what in their opinion is the error of

errors. If the Reverend Messrs. Hiram Bingham and C. M. Hyde have been handled with severity, it is not because their opposition was more violent, but because ungentlemanly they made use of unfair weapons.

For assistance in the work sincerest thanks are due to Messrs. Geo. R. Carter and Sydney Ballou, who kindly permitted the use of their libraries replete with works on Hawaiian History. Also to the late Professor W. D. Alexander and Rev. W. D. Westervelt, who have given me valuable aid by reading the greater part of the manuscript and offering weighty criticisms which repeatedly have induced me to alter certain views, and have contributed much in rendering this History as correct and impartial as possible.

But it is principally to Professor Howard M. Ballou, who since has passed away to my immense regret, that I must acknowledge considerable obligation for his painstaking correction of the manuscript, and further valuable aid which during several years he has rendered me in many ways. A member of the Mission could not have taken more interest in the work and given me better assistance.

FATHER REGINALD YZENDOORN, SS.CC.

Honolulu, T. H., Christmas, 1926.

CHAPTER I.

Groping in the Mist of Hawaii's Past.

Location.—Discovery by Cook.—Origin of the Hawaiians.—Oral Tradition and Chronology.—The White Priest Paao.—A Weird Story.—Nothing but a Dream.—Some more Genealogy.—The White Flag.—Gaetano's Claims to Discovery Denied.—Old Maps.—The Statue of the Spaniard.—Paao and Pili are Spaniards.—They Preached the Catholic Religion.—Remnants of Catholic Teaching.—The Meaning of a Name.—Cook once more, and other Arrivals.—Internecine Wars.—Consolidation of the Group into One Kingdom.—Baptism of Two Chiefs.—Abolition of the Taboo.

THE Hawaiian Archipelago, formerly called the Sandwich Islands, is situated in the Pacific Ocean, between 18° 55′ and 22° 2′ North Latitude, and 154° 47′ and 160° 14′ 40″ West Longitude.

The group consists of eight greater and several smaller islands with a North West to South East trend. They are partly coral and partly of volcanic origin. Only seven of the islands are inhabited, which are, in their geographical order from West to East: Niihau, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, and Hawaii, the latter being the home of two active volcanoes, whilst on the others all volcanic activity has ceased for centuries.

Of this archipelago an American congressman has said, that it is further away from anywhere than any other place in the world. Whether this be true or not, actually the islands are over two thousand miles from any other inhabited island-group of either the North or South Pacific; whilst outside of Oceania, the nearest ports are San Francisco (2100 miles), Acapulco, Mexico (3310 miles), Yokohama (3445 miles), and Manila (4778 miles).

The Islands were visited in 1778-79 by the British explorer Cook, who touched at Kauai and Hawaii with his vessels, the Discovery and the Resolution. He found them inhabited by members of the Polynesian race, which since has been called by ethnologists the Sawaiori, because its principal representatives are the SA-moans, the HaWAI-ians, and the Ma-ORI of New Zealand.

By the following curious process, Cook's second in command, Capt. King, estimated the population at 400,000.

Having counted the houses in Kealakekua bay, at that time one of the best populated parts of the islands, and supposing each hut to be the home of six persons, he obtained 2400 souls for that district. Then comparing the circumference of the islands with the extent of coastline of Kealakekua bay, after deducting one-fourth for uninhabited land, King made his census after the following formula:

2400: Total Population:: Extent of Kealakekua bay: ¾ sum of circumference of all the islands.[1]

How inexact his formula was is shown at once by the fact that he attributes to Lanai and Lehua, two of the smaller islands, a population of respectively 20,400 and 4000 souls, whilst the former island's population was probably not over 3000, and the latter was entirely uninhabited then, as at present.

The actual number of inhabitants at the time of Cook's visit most probably did not exceed 150,000.[2]

1 Troisieme Voyage de Cook, vol. IV, pp. 56, 57.
2 Cf. the numbers obtained in the first census of 1832, in Jarves' History, p. 403, and the remarks anent Ellis' census of 1823, in the second chapter of the present volume.

Ellis gives 140,000 as the population of the Archipelago in 1823, dividing it as follows: Hawaii, 85,000; Maui, 20,000; Lanai, 2000; Molokai, 3000; Oahu, 20,000, and Kauai, 10,000.

On page 121 he describes his method of taking the census of the Big Island which he toured on foot.

Between Kailua and Keauhou, on a distance of 6 miles, and then the most popular part of the Island, he counted 610 houses, and reckoning 5 persons to a house, and adding 100 more houses for people living in the plantations on the side of the hills, he estimated the population of that district to be 3550. Now every Hawaiian family had then at least six houses: the hale moe or hale noa, living and sleeping houses; the hale aina, woman's eating house; hale pea, the woman's place during her monthly infirmity; hale mua, men's eating house; hale kuku, woman's workshop; and the heiau or house chapel. We would then obtain a population of 591 for that part of the Island, and 14,166 for the whole Island. In the same proportions the total population would have been only 23,300, but he must have received his data concerning the other islands from persons who followed a different method of calculation.

How and when the Hawaiian branch of the Sawaioris reached these islands, so isolated from the rest of the world, and where the race had its habitat before entering the Pacific Ocean, are problems which ethnologists have hitherto vainly endeavored to solve. Different theories have been proposed, each and all supported by an imposing array of arguments.

Fornander, the author of "An Account of the Polynesian Race," is of the opinion that: "At the close of the first and during the second century of the present era, the Polynesians left the Asiatic Archipelago and entered the Pacific, establishing themselves on the Fiji group, and thence spreading to the Samoan, Tonga, and other groups eastward and northward; . . . settled on the Hawaiian Islands during the fifth century A. D., when several parties of emigrants from the Marquesas, Society and Samoan groups arrived. . . ."[3]

W. Fruin Mess, Geschiedenis van Java, says: "In very ancient times the ancestors of the population of Java, being one people with the inhabitants of all the islands which are situated between Formosa and New Zealand, Easter Island and Madagascar (with exception of the Papuas of New Guinea, the Negritoes of the Philippines and others), seem to have lived in Indo-China, there where are now Cochin China, Cambodga and Annam. Already then they were divided into tribes.

Once upon a time, when we cannot even approximately tell, this people was forced to leave its home. . . . The cause of this emigration probably was. . . the coming of some other people strong enough to expel the ancient inhabitants. The conquerors came from the North West and forced the people gradually more and more towards the coast, until finally by groups or by tribes they retired from the continent and settled on the numerous islands between Asia and Australia, East Africa and the West coast of America. . . . Three groups established themselves on Java; one on West Java, a second one principally in Central Java, and the third in East Java and on Madura.

In the second and third century of our era coming from what is now British India, they established colonies on West Java and became soon the ruling race. Two centuries later, other immigrants from the same country arrived and established themselves on Central Java, where also they obtained the upper hand, the Javanese (here) accepted gradually the religion of the Hindus. . . . The Hindus did not suppress the Javanese language.

3 Opus citatum, I. p. 168.

In East Java not so many Hindus established themselves, and a stronger mixing of the original population with the strangers took place. Here the pure Hindu type gradually got lost."

If then the original Polynesians maintained themselves on Java, where are they? They ought to be of the same race with the Sawaiori. Dares any one say that a Sawaiori and a Malay belong to the same race?

A French savant, Dr. A. Lesson, has written four ponderous volumes; "Les Polynésiens," and an addition: "Légendes tirées de Fornander," to demonstrate that the cradle of the Sawaiori race rocked nowhere else but in Kawai-Punamu, the South Island of New Zealand. From thence they emigrated to the North Island and further to Tonga and Samoa.[4]

If we may believe this author, who is a transformist and polygenist, there can be no doubt that the Maori were strictly autochthones of the first named island. Not that they sprung from the soil ready made; but through a series of gradual modifications, the last pre-human stage being the "seal" (Otaries molosses); in proof of which a Maori legend, the incontestable fact that seals are mammals, and the overworked skull of Neanderthal, are adduced.[5]

Dr. Shortland[6] conducts the Polynesians from the Philippines via the Mariannes to Hawaii, and from there to New Zealand.

Considering that the prospective Hawaiians had to sail all the time against the wind and the currents, the author deserves considerable credit for this remarkable, though not impossible, feat of seamanship.

A German author, Eduard Michelis, declares the fact that the Polynesians are descendants of the Ainos to be "beyond all doubt."[7]

Had he ever seen a Sawaiori and an Aino together, he might have conceived some doubt as to their close relationship, and having thus been induced to ponder again his arguments, not have found them so very conclusive.

Whilst the hitherto quoted writers make the Polynesians enter the Pacific from the West, others had them come rather from an opposite direction, to wit, from either North or South America. Goodly arguments both in favor and against these theories are not wanting, and may be found summarized in Prof. Alexander's paper on the Origin of the Polynesian Race.[8]

Another hypothesis yet, which makes of the Hawaiians descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, has found much favor with the natives themselves, since they have become acquainted with the Bible.

In regard to this theory much has been made of the alleged Hawaiian practice of circumcision. In reality, however, the Hawaiians never did practice *circumcision.* The Protestant missionaries, when translating the Bible, had to coin a new word "okipoepoe" to describe it. The kindred ceremony of the Polynesians is rather a *supercision,* as may be seen from David Malo's and Cook's accounts.[9] The Hawaiians term it "kahe omaka."

From these many conflicting theories may be inferred that historically the origin of the Hawaiians, and of the Polynesians in general, is unknown.

The natives themselves say in their legends that their ancestors came from *Kahiki,* which has the same vague meaning as the English "abroad."

4 Legendes, p. 56.
5 Legendes, p. 72.
6 Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders, pp. 42-45.
7 Die Voelker der Suedsee und die Geschichte der protestantischen und katholischen Missionen unter denselben. Munster, 1847, p. 42.
8 Seventeenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, pp. 15-17.
9 Hawaiian Antiquities, pp. 128, 129.—Troisieme Voyage, II, p. 62.

We may then safely conclude that whatever arguments prove satisfactory to ethnologists, the historian does not feel justified to improve upon the utterances of the native bards: No other cradle can thus far be assigned to the Sawaiori, besides Kahiki, the Wide Unknown.

The history of the Hawaiian Islands begins with the visit of the Discovery and the Resolution: Cook and his lieutenant King wrote its first pages.

The Hawaiians possessed indeed an unwritten literature made up of songs and other poetic pieces, of legends and old genealogies, but the art of writing they knew not.

"When Nineveh ceased to write, its history came to an end," says Father Lagrange.[10] If history is thus so linked to writing that without it it cannot exist, we are bound to admit that a nation's history cannot antedate the moment it acquires the use of writing, principally if this nation is isolated from those who have acquired the art.

Under ordinary circumstances we may not expect oral tradition to preserve faithfully the events of the past.

It should not be deducted herefrom, that the popular legends are void of all value. What they tell us has probably not happened just so as they would fain make us believe. It occurred perhaps to other persons, or in other places, or at different times than those mentioned in the tradition. The whole composition may be either a myth or an allegory, having no foundation in historical fact. For the moment we are unable to determine what the tradition is worth. But later on fresh data may come to hand which will allow us to pick out some episode from the legendary mist, and assign it a place on the pages of history.

The Hawaiians, as all Polynesians, have preserved the reminiscences of bygone ages under the form of genealogical lists and all kinds of poetry. The therein contained data students of ancient Hawaiian lore have striven to unravel—a toilsome task—and with the material thus obtained they have undertaken to raise the historical structure of the nation's past.

Fornander, as we have previously stated, has endeavored to show that the Hawaiian Islands were settled by Sawaiori as early as the fifth century of our era. However, even to his keen eye-sight, the seven ensuing centuries reveal nothing but, here and there, a shadowy figure, dimly standing out against the nebulous background.

But the Middle-Ages of our group have for him no secrets. The long and dry genealogical lists of chieftains, which to us convey no more information than the fifth chapter of the Book of Genesis offers concerning the Patriarchs, but which confine themselves to apprise us that "Nanamea and Puia were the parents of Pehekeula, who marrying Uluae had a son by the name of Pehekemana, who married Nanahapa and begot Nanamua"[11] and so forth for over fifty generations: these long and dry lists, he ingeniously enlivens and spins out into an interesting, historical looking, narration.

Writing is not the only requisite of history: geography and chronology are equally indispensable. They are the very eyes of history, without which it cannot see clearly.

Fornander well understood this. Hence he has endeavored to rediscover the lost countries, the names of which are contained in Hawaiian legendary lore, and he identifies them with islands and places of the Asiatic Archipelago, [12] with what success we have no interest to discuss.

10 Historical Criticism and the Old Testament, p. 194.
11 Nanaulu Genealogy.
12 An Account, vol. I, pp. 3-26.

The genealogical lists have served him as material to build up his chronology, in accordance with the following method:

"Hawaiian chronology counts by generations, not by reigns, nor by years. In computing long genealogies, thirty years to a generation will be found approximately correct. **Keliiokaloa,** it will be seen by all genealogies of his contemporaries in the other islands of the group, is the eleventh generation back of the present one now (1880) living. But the present generation—and for illustration we take his present majesty, **Kalakaua,**—was born in 1836. Eleven generations, or 330 years back of 1836, bring us to A.D. 1506 as the year of Keliiokaloa's birth . . . . [13]

We believe that Fornander commits here a fundamental error which affects, impairs and dislocates his whole carefully raised historical structure.

The average lifetime of man is commonly estimated as one third of a century. If therefore the child succeeded his parent as the sugarcane shoot grows up from the ratoon after the cane has been cut, Fornander would be right in stating: "In computing long genealogies, thirty years to a generation will be found approximately correct."

But, as a rule, the child does not succeed his parent until after having lived together a number of years. To calculate the length of time embraced by a genealogical list, there can be only one method if no exact data are at hand; this is to multiply the number of individuals on the list, not by the average lifetime of man on earth, but by the average number of years which elapse between the time of one's birth and that of his active begetting.

Whilst it can be discussed whether such chronology ought to be based upon the male or upon the female line, a matter which could be decided only by complicated statistical calculations, the difference is perhaps immaterial when the individuals who make up the genealogy are pagan children of nature, leading a promiscuous life in tropical climes.

At variance with Fornander's opinion, some others think with Jules Remy [14] that Hawaiian chronology counts by reigns, and in calculating time, take 15 years as the mean length of a reign.

Whilst I hold him to be very near the truth as far as his chronological calculations go, he is probably wrong in assuming the different generations to stand for as many reigns. For there is no reason why the genealogy of the reigning chiefs should essentially differ from those of the other nobles and of the priests. However, I hope to show that in whatever sense the generations are taken, we reach nearly the same conclusion as to their average length.

There are good reasons to convince us that the genealogical lists have registered more generations than really succeeded each other.

The Nanaulu genealogy as given by Zepherino, and which counts no less than 114 generations from Kumuhonua till Kamahameha I, enumerates successively chiefs who were brothers. To quote a few striking examples: Liloa, a sovereign of the Big Island, No. 47 on the list, had two sons, Hakau and Umi, who are placed on the list as Nos. 48 and 50. Between them comes one Keanomeha, who was the husband of Hakau's daughter, Pinea II.

Umi's five sons, Kapunanahuanui, Noho, Kumalae, Keliiokaloa and Keawenui, with his son-in-law, Kahakumakaluia, come as the 51st, 52nd, 53d, 54th, 56th, and 55th generations. It is noteworthy that Umi begot these children by six different wives, whom probably he kept simultaneously, as the Hawaiian grandees were wont.

13 An Account, vol. I, p. 108.
14 Histoire de l'Archipel Havaiien, p. xxxvi.

Somewhat later on the list come Puna (76th generation) and Hema (78th generation), both sons of Aikanaka (75th generation). Ua, a son of Puna, is counted before his uncle Hema, as the 77th.

We might multiply similar examples, but think to have quoted sufficiently to show that even this list—which Fornander considers "The most reliable and least affected by . . . interpolations . . . ,"[15] must be considerably curtailed, if we wish to see in it a series of generations, whilst if considered as reigns, it can be scarcely believed that Umi's six children governed successively; it would be much more likely that they reigned over some portion of their father's dominions simultaneously.

The fact that the chiefs frequently changed their names[16] may have been another cause why the genealogical lists were unduly lengthened. By submitting them to a thorough criticism, we might, indeed, amend them; but it seems infeasible to improve them so as to make them available as a basis for chronology.

Only of the later generations we may hope such approach to accuracy, and whatever average of years one is induced to fix upon as the length of either a generation or a reign, it can be applied only to these later generations, without fear of obtaining dates which are considerably at variance with the truth.

If now we consider a generation as the time between a person's birth and his active begetting—the only possible sense the word can have in genealogy—it must not be difficult to determine its average extension.

The age of puberty is generally recognized to be 14 for males and 12 for females. In many countries, however, the actual age of marriage is considerably higher because of the male's inability earlier to provide for a family, and of the requirements of the military service; whilst extra-matrimonial intercourse is retarded and restrained by religious and climatic influences. In countries where there is no obligatory military service and where a lenient climate considerably reduces the necessities of life—Brazil and Mexico may be taken as examples—the age of marriage often coincides with that of puberty.

I am not aware that in Ancient Hawaii any conditions existed which could have acted as restraints on the passions or as reasons why marriage should have been deferred, for Hawaii was then the ideal land for easygoing and improvident people.

Infanticide and race-suicide are said by the early Protestant missionaries to have been practised to a very great extent. But as no shame was attached to, nor blame expected for extra-matrimonial intercourse and conception, I think it improbable that early conceptions should have been generally interfered with. The cruelty and ungenerous instincts which incite to these criminal practices, seem to be less proper to the years of pubescence than to the more advanced age.

That this disgusting and unnatural crime was committed by the Hawaiians of the beginning of the nineteenth century with any special frequency, I have no reason to believe. Ellis (Narrative, pp. 324, 330), Bingham (Residence, p. 368), and Dibble's (History, 1909 ed. p. 108) unanimously indict the Hawaiians.

But as Ellis claimed (loc. citato) that in 1823 the missionaries had checked that criminal custom, which success they could not well have obtained in the short period of three years, it would appear that their unfavorable judgment was rather a rash one.

Even the ancient but queer and unnatural custom of adopting other people's

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15 Opus cit., vol. I, p. 188.

16 Stewart, Journal, p. 94.

babies whilst giving away his own, rather goes to show the Hawaiian's love of children.

If then we take 15 years as the mean age of active generation, both for males and females, and consequently take this as the average length of generation, we do not think that we can be far from the truth.

It may, however, be remarked that the Hawaiian chieftains did not succeed each other according to their rights of inheritance; some, no doubt, took the place of their predecessors as a consequence of revolutions or of the chances of war. Is Jules Remy perhaps right as some instances of the genealogical lists suggest, in taking the generations to mean reigns? In that case how many years have we to count for an average reign?

If we consider the reigns of the Hawaiian princes as far as they are historically known, we have the following: Liholiho reigned 5 years; Kamehameha III, 29 years; Kamehameha IV, 9 years; his successor the fifth Kamehameha also 9 years; Lunalilo 2; and Kalakaua 17 years. This gives for six kings reigning over a period of 71 years a mean length of 12 years. If we add the reign of Kamehameha I, which was extraordinary long (39 years), we get for seven princes over 108 years, an average of 15 years.

In whatever sense then we are inclined to take the generations that compose the Hawaiian genealogies, we feel justified in assigning them an average length of 15 years, in which we agree with Jarves, Remy and others.

The preceding remarks will be helpful in trying to elucidate a hypothesis proposed by Ellis and Jarves anent the existence of a Catholic mission in the Hawaiian group during the sixteenth century, and in fixing the date of a first discovery of these islands by the Spaniards.

The first part of this hypothesis is entirely, the second one partly, based upon the traditions first gathered from the natives by the Protestant missionary, William Ellis, who in 1823 made a tour around the Island of Hawaii.

What greatly enhances this writer's authority is not only that through his knowledge of the Hawaiian language and of the customs and character of other Polynesian tribes he was eminently fit to collect Hawaiian lore, but also the fact that he did this at a time when the mind of the natives was not yet filled with shame of their country's past, as a consequence of the teaching of the missionaries, nor sophisticated and confused by the white man's theories.

According to the legends which were then current among the aborigines, strangers from foreign lands had at different times landed on their shores, some of whom had remained in the country, whilst others had left.

Among the former the most worthy of note was a priest named Paao. Of him Mr. Ellis gives the following account:

"In the reign of **Kahoukapu**, a kahuna (priest) arrived at Hawaii from a foreign country; he was a white man, and brought with him two idols or gods, one large, and the other small; they were adopted by the people and placed among the Hawaiian gods; the temple of Mokini was erected for them, where they were worshipped according to the direction of Paao, who became a powerful man in the nation. The principal event of his life, however, respects a child of Kahoukapu, whose mother was a woman of humble rank, but which was spared at the solicitations of Paao. After his death, his son Opiri, officiated in his temple; and the only particular worthy of note in their account of his life, is his acting as interpreter between the king and a party of white men who arrived at the island . . . . We heard a similar account of this priest at two other places during our tour, viz. at Kairua, and at the first place we visited after setting out."[17]

17 Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, 1828, p. 398.—The first place the missionaries visited after leaving Kailua, was either Luapua or Honuaula, both in North Kona. Pol. Researches IV, 392.

This Paao was said to have built the temple Molokini at Puuepa, North Kohala, where he resided and officiated.[18] To him, adds the same author, "the priests of that neighborhood traced their genealogy until very recently."[19]

Afterwards other stray travelers came, the incidents of whose arrival throw some light on the race of Paao and his companion Pili (Opili or Opiri).

"During the lifetime of Opiri, the son of Paao, a number of foreigners (white men) arrived at Hawaii, landed somewhere in the southwest part of the island, and repaired to the mountains, where they took up their abode. The natives regarded them with a superstitious curiosity and dread, and knew not whether to consider them as gods or men. Opiri was sent for by the king of that part of the island where they were residing and consulted as to the conduct to be observed towards them. According to his advice, a large present of provisions was cooked and carried to them. Opiri led the procession, accompanied by several men, each carrying a bamboo cane with a piece of white native cloth tied to the end of it. When the strangers saw them approaching their retreat, they came out to meet them. The natives placed the baked pigs and potatoes, etc., on the grass, fixed their white banners in the ground, and then retreated a few paces. The foreigners approached. Opiri addressed them. They answered, received the presents, and afterwards conversed with the people through the medium of Opiri. The faculty with which they could communicate their thoughts by means of Opiri . . . was attributed to the supposed influence of Opiri with his gods. The foreigners, they imagined, were supernatural beings, and as such were treated with every possible mark of respect. After remaining some time on the island, they returned to their own country. No account is preserved of the kind of vessel in which they arrived or departed. The name of the principal person among them was **Manahini** . . . ."[20]

"The third account," continues Ellis, "is much more recent and precise, though the period at which it took place is uncertain. It states that a number of years after the departure of **Manahini-ma** (Manahini and his party) . . . seven foreigners arrived at Kearakekua bay . . . . They came in a painted boat with an awning or canopy over the stern, but without mast or sails. They were all dressed; the color of their clothes was white or yellow, and one of them wore a **pahi**, long knife, the name by which they still call a sword, at his side, and had a feather in his hat. The natives received them kindly. They married native women, were made chiefs, proved themselves warriors, and ultimately became very powerful in the Island of Hawaii, which, it is said, was for some time governed by them . . . .[21]

Having given these accounts of white men in Hawaii, Mr. Ellis winds up by saying:

"The most unaccountable circumstance connected with the priest Paao, is his arriving alone, though he might be the only survivor of his party. If such a person ever did arrive, we should think he was a Roman Catholic priest, and the reported gods an image and a crucifix."[22]

Such was the tradition as Mr. Ellis was told it in 1823 by Governor Kuakini at Kailua, and by other natives at Honuaula and Puuepa; at this latter place the memory of the foreign priest is likely to have been kept more faithfully, as it is there that he and his successors in office resided.

When years rolled by, and more white scholars began to show an interest in Paao, the native historians appear to have felt ashamed for knowing so little about one of the most important personages of their past. Perhaps some one has asked them where Paao hailed from, and in 1866, S. M. Kamakau, whilst relating the Paao-legend proper in but a few lines, spins out a long story of how and why the famous priest came to Hawaii.

I translate from the Nupepa Kuokoa, No. 265.

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18 Op. et loc. cit. Pol. Res. IV, 392-393.
19 Op. cit. p. 446, Pol. Researches IV, 437.
20 Op. cit. pp. 446, 447. Polyn. Res. 437.
21 Ibidem, pp. 447, 448, Pol. Res. IV, 438.
22 Ibidem, p. 449. Pol. Res. IV, 439-40.

"Paao was a priest, Makuakaumana a prophet and Pili or Pilikaaiea a chief. This is the Pili who came after the chief Laau whose name is mentioned in the Hema-genealogy."

In the story of Paao and his party, it is said that their country was Wawau and Upolo and the lands further south; these are perhaps the countries which the foreigners call New Zealand. The steep hill near the shore is called Kaakoheo and the mountain is called Malaia; hence Namauuomalaia, the sister of Paao, is thus called after the grasses which Paao brought along, the grasses of Malaia.

The reason why Paao left his country is that he quarreled with his elder brother, Lonopele, who was a priest, a man of power, shrewd and cunning knowledge, who knew everything in the line of his priestly office. The two brothers were husbandmen. Lonopele kept his lands well under cultivation, and had a garden planted with fruit trees.

Once upon a time the fruits of his orchard were stolen, and suspecting Paao's son of the theft, he went to his brother to inform him of his suspicions.

Are you sure, asked Paao, that my child has taken the fruits?

No, replied Lonopele, I have seen the boy going into the orchard, but I did not see him taking any fruit. I think, however, that he is the culprit.

If this is the case, said Paao, I will rip my child's stomach open. Suppose, however, that the fruit is not found there?

Answered Lonopele: That does not concern me; it is up to you. When did you ever see anybody's stomach ripped open? Such an idea could enter only in your mind.

Well, replied Paao, I am going to open my boy's stomach; if the fruits are there, then you are right; if not so, then you are wrong.

Holding fast to his idea, he murdered his child; and when he found no traces of the fruit, he sent for his brother that he might convince himself with his own eyes. But Lonopele refused to come.

After a while, Paao returned, and in his grief over the loss of his child, he said to his brother: From now on, I shall endeavor to kill your own child, and thus take revenge for your treachery. Then I will depart from here.

Paao then started building some canoes, which later on, when they were finished, proved to be very good ones. When the boats were sea-worthy, he forbade everybody to go near them, until they were blessed.

This taboo lasted for quite a time. Whilst it was still on, Lonopele's boy happened to come near them, and amused himself with tapping on them.

As Paao heard the noise, he asked: Where does that noise come from? Some one answered: It is Lonopele's son who is hammering on the canoes.

Lonopele gave order to kill the child, which order was immediately executed.

Now Paao consecrated the boats, and lifted the taboo. They left the corpse next to the hind block on which the canoes rested.

After two or three days, Lonopele arrived at the place where the canoes were lying on the shore. He was searching for his child, whom he had missed. Looking at the canoes, Lonopele admired their neatness. He examined them from bow to stern, and seeing swarms of flies underneath the hindblock of the boats, he approached to see better, when he found the remains of his murdered child. At this sight, he was overpowered with sadness, and in an outburst of grief and anger, he said to Paao: O Paao! you have killed my child. Woe to you! Begone from here, for you are a wicked man.

Then he took the corpse away and mourned his son with an intense love. Then they gave to the canoes the name: **Kanaloaamuia.**[23]

Fearing his brother's resentment, Paao started at once to gather provisions for his intended ocean voyage.

The number of people embarking on the canoes was 38: two cooks; the chief Pili and Hinaaukekele his wife, also known as Hinaauaku; Namauuomalaia, Paao's sister; and Paao himself who had been ordained a priest for this voyage of discovery.

When all was ready for the voyage and all were seated in the canoes, a prophet arrived and standing upon the Kaahokeo hill, shouted down: "Paao, here is one who wants to go along with you."

"Who are you?" asked Paao.

"I am a prophet," quoth he.

"What is your name?"

"Lelekoae," came the answer.

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23 This is probably an allusion to the finding of the child.

Paao ordered him to leap, which the prophet did; but falling on the rocks below, he was killed.[25]

Many other prophets were tried by Paao, as he recognized their power, but they all perished as had done the first.

The canoes then sailed away, and when they were almost out of sight of land, behold, another prophet stood on the cliff of Kaahokeo, and shouted: "Paao, let me be one of your party." When he had repeated this twice or thrice, the seafarers heard him, notwithstanding the great distance; and looking they saw the man standing on the hill.

This prophet gave his name as Makuakaumana. Paao answered him that there was no other place in the canoes but the abutment at the stern. The prophet declared to be satisfied with the place, whereupon Paao ordered him to leap.

And soaring like a bird, Makuakaumana leaped till he sat on the abutment (momoa), and his hands grasped the bowsprit of the canoes. "Here I am," said he, "where is my place? They told him to sit upon the **pola** (the high seat between the canoes which is reserved for chiefs).

Whilst Paao and his company were on the ocean, Lonopele did not cease to annoy him, causing terrific storms to be let loose against the frail vessels. But Paao gave proof of his seamanship, and covered the canoes entirely with matting.

When the winds grew more impetuous, two kinds of fish, bonitos and mackerels, gathered in schools around the canoes; and protected the boats from capsizing, until finally the storm abated.

For this reason the taboo on bonitos and mackerels became an observance of Paao and his descendants until the time of Hewahewa, the highpriest of Kamehameha.

In Puna, on the south-west coast of Hawaii, Paao made his first landfall. There is yet found the **heiau** (temple) built by him in honor of his god, **Ahaula.**

From **Puna** the party sailed northwards till they arrived at the northmost point of the Big Island; there they landed at a place by the name of Puuepa. Paao built here another temple to which the name Mookini (or Molokini) was given.

It is thought that the arrival of Paao in Hawaii happened during the reign of the chief Laau, because after this chief's reign, Pili became chief of Hawaii. So it is stated in the genealogy of Hanalaanui and there you may look it up.[26]

Fornander has got hold of this version of the Paao legend as a proof of his favorite theory that frequent communications took place between Samoa and Hawaii in the twelfth century; for that early he fixes the arrival of Paao.

It was perhaps because of his being aware of the weakness of his contention that he tried to strengthen it by an alleged parallel New Zealand legend. Says he:

"The cause of Paao's departure from Upolo to seek a new establishment in other lands, as narrated by Hawaiian tradition, bears so strong a resemblance to the Samoan legend brought by the first emigrants to New Zealand, and narrated by Sir George Grey in his 'Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race,' London, John Murray, 1855, page 202, etc., that it is easy to recognize that both legends are but different versions of the same event."[27]

Unfortunately for the cogency of Fornander's arguments, it is impossible to discover any resemblance between the two legends which will warrant the conclusion he arrives at.

For me the Kamakau version is not even a legend, not even a deliberate theory. That father ripping up his child to find whether or not it has stolen fruit, those prophets flying from the top of a bluff to the mast of a distant vessel, the incidents of the canoes and of the schools of fishes, they have all such a thoroughly nightmarish look, that the whole story of Paao's adventures before coming to Hawaii, I hold to be nothing but a dream. This opinion, apart from the internal evidence, receives additional weight from the fact that Hawaiians were and are wont to take their dreams for stern reality.[28]

25 Paao's answer was a pun on the name of the prophet, which is that of a seabird that lives on the cliffs, and leaps, so to say, from the rocks to catch its prey.

26 Kamakau, Moolelo o Kamehameha I, Nupepa Kuokoa, Dec. 29, 1866.

27 Polynesian Race, II, p. 30.

28 Cf. the Boki incident in Ch. V, and the Kahapuu story in Ch. VII of this history.

Believing therefore that there are no grounds to believe that Paao hailed from Samoa, a difficulty remains in the second part of Kamakau's version, in as far as he makes the priest arrive in the time of the chief Laau. This opinion he avows to be based upon the fact that this chieftain reigned before Pili.

Another witness to Hawaiian tradition, David Malo, declares the arrival of Paao to have taken place during the reign of Lonokawai, Laau's predecessor.

As on the Ulu genealogy, first published in 1838 by the said David Malo in the Lahainaluna History of Hawaii[29], Lonokawai and Laau occupy respectively the 30th and the 29th generation before Kamehameha I, whilst Kahoukapu comes fully twelve generations later (18th generation before Kamehameha); this would bring Paao's arrival some 180 years previous to Kahoukapu's time. But here again we stumble over one of the niceties of the genealogical lists.

The same David Malo in his "Hawaiian Antiquities", makes Paao contemporary not only with Lonokawai, whom as we have seen, he puts thirty generations before Kamehameha, and with Kanipahu and Kalapana to whom he assigns the 23d and 22d generations, but with Kahoukapu as well, whose wife Laakapu is said by him to have obtained a child from the gods at the prayer of Paao.[30]

As it is impossible to admit that Paao lived over two centuries, we must conclude that all these chieftains reigned simultaneously. After all it follows that both Kamakau and Malo agree with Mr. Ellis in making the foreign priest a contemporary with Kahoukapu.

Now Fornander shows[31] that this chief's reign ought to be assigned not to the 18th, but to the 14th generation previous to Kamehameha I, which according to the average length of a generation we have fixed upon, will bring us 210 years earlier than 1780, i.e. 1570, or thereabouts.

There is nothing in the traditions concerning Paao and Pili that indicates a Samoan origin. On the contrary the unanimous affirmation of all witnesses to Hawaiian tradition, by calling him a "haole" and a white man, expressly precludes the hypothesis of a Sawaiori origin.

Whatever may have been the relationship between Paao and Pili, nothing suggests that they did not belong to the same nationality. Now we have seen Pili conversing fluently, to the great astonishment of the Hawaiians, with a party of white men, who paid a passing visit to the islands about the middle of the XVI century or perhaps a decade or two later. That both Pili and the Manahini party were really white men, i. e. Europeans, receives an additional affirmation from the use of the white flag as an emblem of peace. Throughout Polynesia young banana trees and ti-plants were used for that purpose;[32] they made use of white flags indeed, but only as signs of the taboo.[33] It is true King mentions the use of white pieces of cloth together with banana-leaves and green branches as symbols of truce by the Hawaiians;[34] Dalrymple also reports instances of white flags used as peace signals by the inhabitants of New Zealand and Tonga-tabu in the year 1642;[35] but in all these cases the natives used them in their relations with Europeans from whom probably they had learnt their meaning.

As the English first entered the Pacific under Drake in September, 1578, when one of the Admiral's three vessels, the Marigold, parted company in a gale of wind and was never heard of again, whilst the Dutch appeared in these seas later

29 Moolelo Hawaii, edition of Jules Remy, 1862, pp. 64-69.
30 Hawaiian Antiquities, pp. 25, 324, 328, 332, 333.
31 Polynesian Race, vol. I, p. 192.
32 Ellis' Narrative, p. 147; Jarves' History, p. 67.
33 Corney, Early Northern Voyages, Honolulu, 1896, pp. 36, 86, 101.
34 Troisieme Voyage de Cook, Paris, 1785, vol. III, p. 475.
35 Voyages dans la Mer du Sud, Paris 1774, pp. 337, 344, 345.

yet, to wit, in September, 1599 under Jacob Mahu,[36] no other Europeans crossed the Pacific at an earlier date than the Spaniards, from which it may be concluded that the Manahini party, and consequently Paao and Pili belonged to that nationality.

Now we have historical documents, apart from the Hawaiian traditions which show that these islands were known to the Spaniards before the beginning of the XVII century (1600), and that moreover they had been on the islands.

Prof. Alexander states[37]: "There is little doubt that these islands were discovered by the Spanish navigator, Juan Gaetano, in the year 1555." Although he does not give his authority, it can but be document No. 64 issued on February 21, 1865 from the Colonial Office at Madrid and addressed to the Superior Civil Governor of the Philippines. From this document I make the following extracts:

". . . . By all the documents that have been examined, it is demonstrated that the discovery dates from the year 1555 . . . and that the discoverer was Juan Gaetano or Gaytan. **The Principal proof** is an old manuscript chart, registered in these archives as anonymous, **and in which the Sandwich Islands are laid down under that name,** but which also contains a note declaring that he called them "Islas de Mesa (Table Islands)." There are besides other islands situated in the same latitude, but 10 degrees farther east and respectively named "La Mesa," La Desgraciade, Olloa or Los Monges. The chart appears to be a copy of that called the chart of the Spanish Galleon, existing long before the time of Cook, and which is referred to by all the national and foreign authors that have been consulted, such as the following: Batavian Geography, 2nd vol. of the Geographical atlas of William Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1663. In the first map entitled 'America Nova Fabula,' the neighboring islands La Desgraciada, and those of Los Monges, are placed towards the 21st degree of northern latitude and 120 west of the meridian passing through the island of Teneriff . . . James Burney . . . cites the atlas of Artelius entitled 'Theatrum Orbis' in which the same islands are found, and placed in nearly the same position . . . .

"Foreign authors say that it (the discovery) took place in 1542 in the expedition commanded by General Rui Lopez de Villalobo, while the Spanish chronicles denote 1555. The latter date should be the more correct one, for Juan Gaytan wrote the narrative of the voyage of 1542, and mentions nothing respecting those islands, while he gives an account of Rocca partida, and Amblada, and all those he discovered on that expedition . . . ."

Now, since the Spanish manuscript chart contained the *Sandwich Islands,* under *that name,* it was naturally posterior to the year 1778, when Cook visited them, and *gave* them *that* name. We have consequently the anonymous testimony of a man who lived over two centuries after the alleged events, and does not indicate his sources. In historical criticism such testimony cannot have the slightest weight, and must be discarded. The statement, indeed, may be true, but we have no reason to believe it, as the witness evidently could not have any personal knowledge about it, whilst we cannot check his sources.

Perhaps he had not any authority for his statement; perhaps it is a mere surmise; perhaps a wrong interpretation of Gaetano's logbook of the voyage across the Pacific in 1542, wherein he speaks of the discovery of a group of islands in the northern Pacific which he called the Los Reyes, Los Coralles and Los Jardins, and stated to be situated 900 leagues from the Gulf of California; 900 leagues or 2700 miles is no doubt more or less the distance which separates Hawaii from Cape California, but as the Spanish pilot underestimates the entire distance between the American coast and Mindanao in the Philippines by 50 per

36 The absolutely un-Dutch, but truly Hawaiian name of this navigator may perhaps be made a base of speculations; not that during this voyage he could have touched at the Hawaiian Islands, for he died on the passage out, but he may have landed on the group when serving on some Spanish galleon, at which occasion he may have received the nickname

37 A Brief History of the Hawaiian People, p. 99.

cent, it is evident that we have always to double his estimates of the course sailed over, which gives us 5400 miles from the Californian coast instead of 2700, and brings us to the Marshall Islands instead of the Hawaiian archipelago. Moreover as our pilot puts his discovery at latitude 10 degrees north instead of latitude 20 degrees north and says that the Garden Island is 50 leagues to the south-southwest of the Coral Island, whereby no two islands of our group could possibly be identified, it follows that the islands discovered by Gaetano in 1542 were not Hawaii, but the Marshall group.

This the Spanish official had sense enough to discern, and he therefore hastens to say that the discovery was not made by Gaetano on that voyage, but in 1555. We have no description of this 1555 voyage, nor is there any reason why we should believe that he made any voyage across the Pacific in that year. Although searching several works wherein mention of that voyage ought to have been made, had it taken place, the writer failed to find any allusion to it, except in the answer of the chief of the Spanish Marine Department, whose only information probably came from his anonymous manuscript chart.

However, although we do not know the name of the Spaniard who discovered the islands, there can be no doubt but that the group was known to and visited by the mariners of that nationality. Indeed, two island groups, called Los Monges and Los Bolcanos, which appear on a great many maps of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries must be identified with the Hawaiian archipelago.

The Los Bolcanos group, consisting of five islands, one of which is called La Farfana (probably a misreading for La Tartana), appears for the first time in 1569 on Mercator's map: Nova et aucta orbis descriptio, at between 22 and 26° north lat. and about 176° west long. of Greenwich.

Los Monges are mapped for the first time by Abraham Ortelius on the map of America, made in 1587, and reproduced in the A. D. 1612 edition of his monumental atlas: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. There they are at between 20 and 22° north lat. and 159 and 162° west long. Various cartographers during the two following centuries have maintained the Los Monges group on their maps until Cook rediscovered and renamed them; whilst Los Bolcanos are mapped for the last time by J. A. Maginus in 1617.[38]

A complete study of all these maps leaves no doubt as to the identity of these two groups with the Hawaiian Islands.[39]

Here then we have a clear indication that the Los Monges group or the Hawaiian Islands, were known to the Spaniards as early as 1569.

We have yet another historical proof of the visits by Spaniards to these islands about the same period.

On the island of Oahu a stone statue has been found which is said to have been there before Cook's visit. The original statue is now at Bremen, Germany, but a cast may be seen in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu. It represents a European gentleman, whose circular ruff, pointed beard and standing mantelet collar are of the fashion which prevailed between 1580 and 1630.

Whilst then from the one side, the traditions of the Hawaiians tell us that during the latter part of the XVI century white men landed at the islands, of whom some stayed, historical documents and monuments prove that about the the same period, Spaniards took cognizance of the group, and the statue at least suggests that they have resided there for some time.

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38 Geographie, 2d vol.

39 See, Study in Hawaiian Cartography by the author in 21st Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, pp. 23-32.

It seems then that there can be but little doubt that the strangers of the Hawaiian legends are Spaniards, and that consequently Paao and Pili belonged to that nationality.

Now since Paao introduced a new religion, it can hardly have been any other but the Roman Catholic religion.

It must be acknowledged that not much had remained of the fruits of Paao's evangelical labors. Neither could we expect this, since after the priest's death or departure (Zepherino says that he returned to his country [41]) fully two centuries rolled by before Christianity was again preached to the natives. It is natural that at his removal the old heathenism, so deeply rooted in the native mind, that even now after nearly a century of evangelization by hundreds of missionaries, it is yet very generally practiced to a certain extent and under cover, should again shoot up luxuriously and overgrow the seedlings of Christianity.

There are, however, in the rites and teachings of the old Hawaiian religion certain things, which, not improbably, are remnants of Catholic worship and teaching.

Particularly striking is the belief in the Blessed Trinity, as we find it expressed in the Song of Creation.

Although the Hawaiians worshipped a legion of deities, they recognized that at the head of this pantheon stood the triad, Ku, Kane, and Lono, to whom the creation of all that is was attributed, whilst the Triad itself existed from all eternity.

Here follows a prayer which makes part of the Song of Creation:

O Ku, O Kane, O Lono,
O God, not less immense than space itself;
Space above: Heaven,
Space beneath: the earth;
O God of the triple heaven,
NO OTHER GOD EXISTS,
But THOU alone, O Ku, Kane, and Lono;
YOU are three, O God!
THOU art the God of light
And of the threefold heavens;
The God of the muddy earth;
THINE they are; to THEE alone do they belong:
THOU art God; true God art THOU.

E Ku, e Kane, e Lono,
E Ke Akua i anai a paa ka lewa,
O ka lewa iluna, ua lani;
O ka lewa ilalo, ua honua;
E ke Akua o na lani kaukolu,
Eo e Akua e ae,
O oe wale no, e Ku, e Kane, e Lono;
O oukou kaukolu, ke Akua e!
He 'Kua oe o malamalama,
O lani kaukolu,
O ke 'Kua o honua-kele;
Nou-a, nou wale no e;
He 'Kua, he 'Kua io oe.[42]

In the mythologies of the other Sawaiori tribes, we also find some trinity of gods; in fact Ku, Kane, and Lono are known all through Polynesia; but, if I am correctly informed, nowhere is found the Hawaiian conception of the Trinity

41 Moolelo Hawaii, pale I, kiko 31: "A ma ia hope iho hoi hou Paao ma i Tahiti."

42 See the author's translation of the Mele Kumuhonua in the Paradise of the Pacific, Jan., 1909, pp. 17-21. See also how Ku, Kane and Lono are invoked as one God in the baptismal prayer hereafter.

which bears such a striking resemblance to the fundamental mystery of Christianity.

The circumcision rite, which probably was accompanied by baptism, reminds of many ceremonies of Catholic baptism; like Christian baptism it was evidently a dedication to the Trinity.

Zepherino gives this account of the ceremonies which accompanied the circumcision of a child:

"To have a child circumcised, the father with some relatives went to the priest, carrying for the sacrificial purposes, a live pig, a red fish, a coconut, a white bird, and a lighted torch.

"On coming before the priest, he said: Priest, here are the offerings for my child. Whereupon the priest asked: What for are they?

"The father then answered: They are the offerings for circumcision.

"After this the priest went with his servants up to the altar, meanwhile praying mentally. The fire and the offerings were taken along.

"The parents and family of the child went also with the priest, and at their arrival before the altar, the priest planted three little flags in honor of Ku, Kane and Lono, and he also lighted three torches in their honor.

"Then the priest made holy water in which salt was mixed; he prayed to Ku, Kane and Lono, and thus the water became taboo-water and was called the taboo-water of Kane.

"When all these things had been prepared, the priest proceeded to the ceremony of circumcision. And when the circumcision was performed, the priest put a piece of white cloth on the head of the child.

"After these rites, the priest with his servants prayed mentally, and whilst praying he gave away the offerings which had been put on the altar. The prayer was as follows:

"'O God, O Ku, Kane and Lono, behold the offerings of the child. O Kane, look upon, preserve and have mercy on thy worshipper, that he may live unto an advanced old age. Be it so. Amen.'

"Then those that have assisted at the ceremony return home with great rejoicing, and partake of a festive dinner at the house of the person who has been circumcised, the entire family assisting."[43]

The resemblance existing between these Hawaiian circumcision rites, and the ceremonies of a solemn baptism as administered in the Catholic Church, coupled with the popular Spanish and Portuguese customs, seem too striking than that they could be explained by mere coincidence.

The centre of Catholic worship is the sacrifice of the Mass. But the celebration of the Mass necessitates bread made from wheat, and wine, the juice of the grape. As these products were not to be found in Ancient Hawaii, and the Spaniards seem to have touched at the islands merely accidentally, Paao cannot have said Mass, and the worship he practiced and propagated was necessarily a mere shadow of the Catholic observances, and may have looked rather like the services of the Episcopal Church.

We may expect him to have held a kind of service, which in his days was a common form of devotion used for funerals and marriages in the afternoon, when a real Mass could not be said, to wit: the *Missa sicca* or Dry Mass, which consisted of all the Mass except the Offertory, Consecration, and Communion.[44]

Now a remnant of such a Dry Mass is exactly what we find in the pagan rites of Old Hawaii. For here is a description of a heathen service by the Hawaiian scholar Kamakau:

"When the high priest went to the altar, as soon as he approached it, he bowed down, stepped back somewhat, and then knelt down and prayed. After the prayer he stood above (on the altar-platform) and sprinkled the altar with salt-water mixed

43 Kepelino, Moolelo Havaii, pale I, kiko 9.
44 Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, p. 797.

with yellowish coloring; he then turned and, facing the gathering, sprinkled them with holy water, for the remission of the sins and impurities of the people.[45]

This ceremony has much of the Asperges before High Mass, and of the preparatory prayers at the foot of the altar. Kamakau sees remnants of Catholic worship in the fact that on the altars and the kuapalas of the heiaus, as well as on the kahuas (platforms) were crosses; that the approach to the altar was forbidden to women, and in the use of flowers and other plants to adorn the altar. All these, like also the cruciform terraces which were used in the heiaus built by Umi, may well be mere coincidences.

What with more probability may be considered a remnant of Catholic teaching is the belief in the resurrection of the body, which doctrine did not make part of the general beliefs of the Hawaiians, but was taught by the heathen priest Kapihe, who in the time of Kamehameha I, officiated in Puna, not far from the place where Paao built his first temple. Concerning this priest and his teaching on the resurrection, Mr. Ellis has this to say:

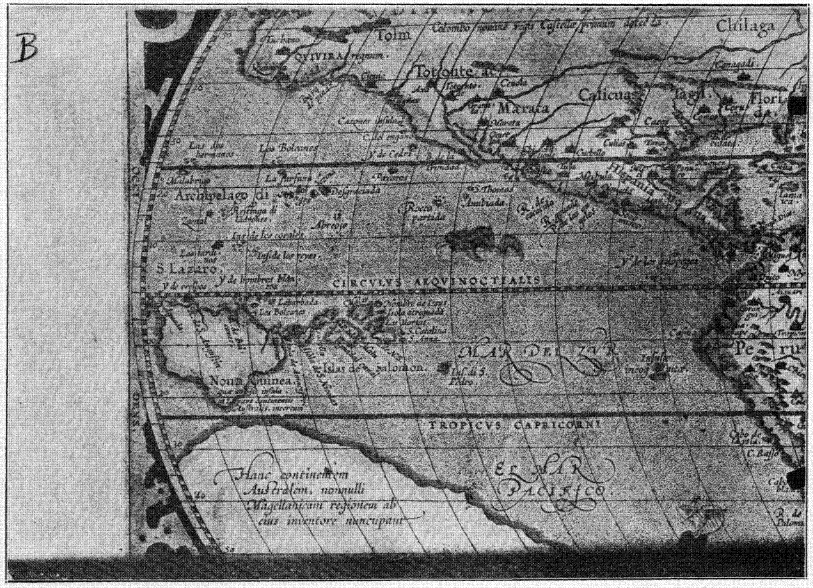
"A very interesting conversation ensued, on the resurrection of the dead at the last day . . . . The people said they had heard of it by Kapihe, a native priest, who formerly resided in this village, and who, in the time of Tamehameha, told that prince, that at his death he would see his ancestors, and that hereafter all the kings, chiefs, and people of Hawaii, would live again . . . .

"Kapihe . . . priest to the god, Kuahairo, . . . informed Tamehameha that when he should die, Kuahairo would take his spirit to the sky, and accompany it to the earth again, when his body would be reanimated and youthful; that he would have his wives, and resume his government in Hawaii; and that at the same time the existing generation would see and know their parents and ancestors, and all the people who had died would be restored to life . . . ."[46]

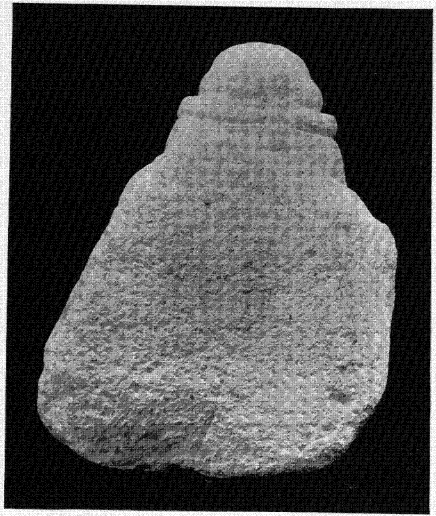
I hold it then to be most probable, that Paao was a Catholic priest, or perhaps a friar not in Holy Orders. Pili, I presume to have been a friar, but not a priest, although after Paao's removal he replaced him in his ministry.

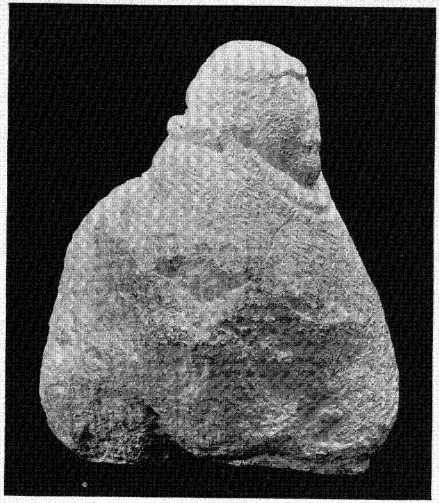
About the year 1870 Fornander visited the heiau of Mookini which Paao built and where he officiated. He was accompanied by Naaipaakai, a circuit judge of that part of the Island who was well conversant with the ancient lore of the district. The latter showed Fornander a secret well or crypt in the south side of the walls, east of the main entrance several feet deep, but at that time filled up with stones and boulders of similar nature to those that composed the wall. Having climbed on the top of the wall and removed the stones of the well, they found at the bottom two maika stones of extraordinary size, which were said to be the particular Ulu which Paao brought with him from foreign lands, and with which he amused himself when playing the favorite game of Maika. These stones were as large as the crown of a common-sized hat, two inches thick at the edges and a little thicker in the middle. They were of a white, fine-grained, hard stone, that might or might not be of Hawaiian quarrying. Fornander, whose narrative we fairly transcribe, adds: I have seen many Maika stones from ancient times, of from two to three inches diameter, of a whitish straw color, but never seen or heard of any approaching these of Paao in size or whiteness. Though they are called the Maika stones of Paao—na Ulu a Paao—"yet their enormous size would apparently forbid their employment for that purpose. If Maika stones, and really intended for that purpose, there could be no conceivable necessity for hiding them in the bottom of this crypt or well in the wall of the Heiau. In this uncertainty the legend itself may throw some light on the subject when it says that 'Paao brought two idols with him from Upolo, which he added to those

45 Ka Moolelo o na Kamehameha, Nupepa Kuokoa, Oct. 24, 1868.
46 Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, pp. 128, 129. Cf. also p. 265. Polyn. Researches IV 144. 145, 281.



Map of the Pacific Ocean, Showing the Hawaiian Islands under the Name of Los Bolcanes, La Farfana, Monges, Vezina and Desgraciada, made by Abraham Ortelius in 1587





STATUE OF SPANIARD IN BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU

already worshipped by the Hawaiians.' . . . May not then these so-called Maika stones of Paao, so carefully hidden in the walls of the Heiau, be those idols that Paao brought with him? Their presence there is a riddle; and the superstitious fear with which they are treated or spoken of by the elder inhabitants of the district evinces in a measure the consideration in which they were anciently held. . . ." Thus far Fornander. (Vol. II, pp. 36, 37.)

These so-called Maika stones may have been the altar stones of Paao and Pili.

And as the Spaniards were in the habit of naming their discoveries either from the Saint or mystery whose feast occurred on the day of discovery (instances: Los Reyes, Saint Thomas, Ascension), or from the physical appearance of the land (Los Bolcanos, Los Corales, Las Huertas), or again from some occurrence which happened during their stay at the place (Los Ladrones, Los Martyres), I would suggest that the finding on Hawaii of the two friars Paao and Pili has caused the discoverers to name the island Los Monges, i.e., The Friars.

In view of this custom of the Spaniards in selecting names for their discoveries, this theory seems plausible.[47]

The discoverers would then have been the members of the Manahini party. The third body of white men who arrived in a boat without masts or sails, after some time probably continued their voyage till Oahu, and despairing to reach New Spain in their frail boat, established themselves there, leaving us the statue which we have spoken of before.

Having re-discovered the three northernmost islands of the group in January, 1778, Captain Cook left them for less agreeable fields of discovery. But when at the approach of the winter season, his explorations in the Arctic regions were arrested by the ice-fields, he determined to pass the winter in the sunny and hospitable islands he had recently discovered. He arrived off the northeast coast of Maui on the 26th of November and beating about for a considerable time, arrived finally at Kealakekua Bay on the Southwest coast of the Big Island, January 17, 1779. His adventures there have often been told; it hence suffices here to remark that on the 14th of February he received there the well deserved reward for his impiety, meanness, injustice and cruelty. He was killed by the natives in an attempt to capture their king.

However, the news of the discovery spread rapidly, and soon the "Sandwich Islands" as Cook had named the Hawaiian Archipelago, became the rendezvous of the fur-traders who about that time began to cross the North-Pacific.

About the end of 1789 an American vessel, the Eleanore, arrived in Hawaiian waters. In February of the following year, a boat of the vessel was stolen by the natives and a sailor who occupied it, was killed. In revenge, Captain Metcalf massacred wantonly over a hundred natives, of whom none perhaps had had a hand in either the theft or the murder. Then he went southwards and lay off Kealakekua, where he was soon joined by his tender, the Fair American. The natives revenged the massacre of their countrymen by attacking the latter vessel and killing all the crew, except the mate Isaac Davis. They also captured John Young, the boatswain of the Eleanore. When this vessel had left, both men entered the service of Kamehameha, who was then king of North and West Hawaii; this prince seeing the use he could make of these two foreigners for the furthering of his ambitious projects, raised them to the rank of chiefs.

47 It must be remarked that two other island groups bear the name of Los Monges: one in South America to the east of Cape Coquiboca, and another in the neighborhood of Acapulco. All these islands have a white appearance on account of the excrements of seabirds with which they are covered. This is also the case of Laysan island and neighboring rocks to the west of Kauai. Cf. the above quoted Study in Hawaiian Cartography, p. 32.

About this time all Hawaii was divided in four kingdoms: Kamehameha, as we have said, ruling over the greater part of the Big Island; Keoua, holding the windward side of the same island; Kahekili, originally king of Maui and Lanai, had recently also added Oahu and Molokai to his dominions, whilst his brother Kaeo swayed the scepter over the two northernmost islands of the group: Kauai and Niihau.

Kahekili died in 1794, and his son Kalanikupule succeeded him as king of Oahu, whilst Kaeo extended his sovereignty over the remaining islands. Soon the uncle and the nephew were in arms against each other, and Kamehameha profited so well by their disputes that ere five years had fully elapsed, he was master of all the islands, except Kauai and Niihau. Shortly after the celebrated battle of the Nuuanu Pali, which made the Hawaiian conqueror master of Oahu, Kalanikupule was captured and offered in sacrifice to Kamehameha's war god.

In 1810 Kaumualii, who had succeeded his father Kaeo as king of Kauai and Niihau, knowing that sooner or later he would have to succumb to the superior forces of Kamehameha, offered his islands to that prince, who told them to continue to hold them in fief during his lifetime, on condition that his son Liholiho should be heir to his sovereign rights. Thus the whole group became consolidated into one kingdom, and but for two short lived rebellions, an end was made to decades of continual warfare, which was rapidly depopulating the Islands.

The great Conqueror died May 8th, 1819. He was succeeded by his son, Liholiho, who was far from possessing the many qualities of his sire. At the investiture of Liholiho, Kaahumanu, the conqueror's wife, but not the mother of the new king, said to him: "Heavenly one, I declare to you your father's will: behold your father's chiefs and subjects; behold your guns and your lands: however, let us both jointly govern the country."[47]

Whether Kamehameha really had appointed Kaahumanu as Liholiho's premier, or the queen-dowager perpetrated here a falsehood, none of the chiefs felt interest to dispute her claims; at least none gainsaid her, and as the king accepted the proposition, she became rightfully, though perhaps fraudulently, kuhina-nui or prime-minister to the king.

The same day efforts were made by the queens to obtain the abolition of the taboo, but Liholiho refused his consent to this revolutionary measure, and even the people showed their disapproval.

Exactly three months after Kamehameha's death, the French ship Uranie, Captain Freycinet, arrived at Kailua. After a stay of only four days, the vessel proceeded to Kawaihae, an anchorage in South-Kohala, where Liholiho had gone to consecrate a heiau. The day after her arrival several chiefs came on board, among whom were Kalanimoku and the Englishman, John Young.[47a]

Kalanimoku was a grandson of Kekaulike, the king of Maui, by his third wife, Haalou. By birth he was thus of the same rank as Kaahumanu, Kamehameha's wife, and Kuakini, the governor of Hawaii, who were his first cousins. When a

47 Moolelo, Hawaii, Lahainaluna, Remy's edit. p. 132. The expression: "E ai pu no kaua i ka aina," meaning literally: Let us eat the country together, expresses well the political situation of a chief before the Declaration of Rights. It recalls curiously enough the Demoboros Basileus of the Iliad.

47a Bishop H. Restarick has endeavored to prove that John Young was an American. See 22d Report of Hawaiian Historical Society, p. 25 ff. His arguments are weighty indeed, and almost convincing. But although we understand that Young, being an American, should try to pass himself off as an Englishman on Vancouver and other Britishers, it is hard to believe that he should have denied his nationality to the American missionaries, who, however, always speak of him as an Englishman. Bingham says: "Though at first detained there (in Hawaii) against his will, he at length preferred to stay rather than to return to England." (A Residence, p. 51.) Later on the Bishop has himself reversed his opinion.

youth, he had fought in the army of Kiwalao against Kamehameha, but afterwards served under the Conqueror, finally becoming his generalissimo. And, although at the death of Kamehameha, his wife Kaahumanu shared the government with Liholiho, all visitors of that time agree that Kalanimoku was the all-powerful mayor of the palace of a do-naught king.[48]

During his visit on board the Uranie, the costume of the chaplain, the abbé de Quélen, having attracted his attention, he asked what were the functions of that dignitary. John Young told him that it was a priest of their countries and of the true God.[49] He then answered that for a considerable time he had entertained a desire to be a Christian, and that he wished to be baptized, as his mother, having received that sacrament on her deathbed, (perhaps from Marin or from "Padre" Howell, an English Episcopal clergyman who lived for some time on Hawaii) she had recommended him to apply for the same privilege if an opportunity offered.

The chaplain declared himself willing to administer this sacrament to the Hawaiian chief, and it was decided that the ceremony was to take place the following day, after a council of the king and his chiefs to which Captain Freycinet had been invited. The French commander gives this description of the proceedings:

"When I was on the point of returning on board, Riorio told me that he and his court wanted to assist at the ceremonies which we were going to perform. I sent him my pinnace to this purpose, and soon we saw him appear, accompanied with the five queens, his wives, his six- or seven-year-old brother, Kauikeaouli, and the princess Kaahumanu; a long procession of pirogues with the ladies and gentlemen of his court followed in the wake.

"The king had donned a blue with gold trimmed uniform of the hussars, furnished with thick colonel's epaulets; one of his officers carried his sword, another one his kahili (fly-flap), two others each an enormous arquebuse, and finally, a fifth one his pipe, which he had orders to keep alight.

"I saluted the monarch on his arrival with eleven guns. The quarterdeck was decorated with flags, some of which had been put also on deck for the comfort of the princesses. The favorite queen and Kaahumanu were seated on chairs in front of the altar which had been erected on deck near the poop.

"Finally the abbé de Quélen, with the usual ceremonies, baptized Kraimoku, who, during the whole proceedings showed a deep emotion."[50] This happened on the 14 of August of 1819."

Kalanimoku received in baptism the name of Louis, after M. de Freycinet who served him as godfather. Having exchanged some presents with the captain, the chief took leave "to go," if Arago could be believed, "and lie down in the midst of his five wives and to sacrifice to his gods."[51] We do not pretend to know what religious instruction Kalanimoku had received. From his conversations with Marin, Rives, Young, and "Padre" Howell, he may have gotten a sufficient knowledge of the principal truths of the Christian religion. His morals were beyond a doubt far superior to those of the blasphemous profligate who penned the "Promenade autour du Monde", and he was certainly a better believer. When the following year the Protestant missionaries arrived, he showed them favor from the very beginning. In December, 1826, they admitted him to church-membership, but did not rebaptize him, as they regarded the baptism imparted by

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48 Missionary Herald, 1826, p. 372; Stewart, Journal, p. 93; Arago, Promenade autour du Monde, lettre CXVIII.

49 S. M. Kamakau, Nupepa Kuokoa, No. 309.

50 Voyage autour du Monde, par. M. Louis de Freycinet, Historique, t. II, p. 538. (Edit. Paris, 1829.)

51 Arago, Promenade autour du Monde, lettre CXIX.

the French chaplain a valid one.[52] He died of the dropsy on 8th of February, 1827.

From Kawaihae the Uranie sailed for Honolulu, there to complete her provisions. When on her arrival at that port Governor Boki, the younger brother of Kalanimoku, heard of the latter's baptism, he insisted that the same privilege should be extended to him. Accordingly M. de Quélen baptized him on board the Uranie, August the 27th, giving him the name of Paul.[53] In him the members of the Catholic Mission who were to arrive eight years later, were to find a somewhat wavering yet effective protector, who kept their adversaries at bay till he himself was removed from the scenes of Hawaiian history by an ill-fated adventure.

After the departure of the Uranie, Kaahumanu invited the king to come over to the district of Kona. On his arrival there, he found a splendid repast prepared, at which he sat down with a large company of chiefs of both sexes. Thus one of the most important taboos was broken, for hitherto it had been strictly forbidden for men and women to eat together. The abolition of this cumbersome taboo was proclaimed throughout the group, and was accompanied by a general overthrow of the whole religious system, the high priest Hewahewa himself setting the example of setting fire to the idols and their shrines.

A young chief, Kekuaokalani, raised an army in defense of the old religion. A battle took place about the middle of December at Kuamoo in Kona, but the partizans of idolatry suffered a bloody defeat; their leader himself was killed in the action.

Thus terminated the medieval period of Hawaii-nei, at a time when the messengers of a new era soon to commence, left their distant shores.[54]

52 Missionary Herald, 1826, pp. 309, 310.

53 Freycinet, op. cit. pp. 547, 548.

54 For a more circumstantial account of Hawaiian History between Cook's visit and the arrival of the Protestant missionaries, as well as for a description of the religion and customs of the Hawaiians, see Prof. W. D. Alexander's excellent "Brief History of the Hawaiian People."

CHAPTER II

A Protestant Mission

The American Board of Foreign Missions.—First Mission to the Sandwich Islands.—First School.—Bibliopathy.—Printing Press started.—Ellis' first Visit.—Reinforcement.—Ellis' second Visit and Tour around Hawaii.—Foundation of missions at Kailua and Lahaina.—Death of Kaumualii.—Rebellion on Kauai.—Kaahumanu's interest in the mission.—Incipient success.

On June the 27th, 1810, in the town of Bradford, Mass., an "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" was instituted, the object of which was "to devise, adopt, and prosecute ways and means for propagating the gospel among those who are destitute of the knowledge of Christianity."[1]

The members of this organization belonged to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches.[2]

On October the 23d, 1819, the first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands were sent out by this Board. They were: the Rev. Hiram Bingham; Rev. Asa Thurston; Mr. Daniel Chamberlain, farmer; Dr. Thomas Holman, physician; Mr. Samuel Whitney, mechanic; Mr. Samuel Ruggles, catechist; and Mr. Elisha Loomis, printer; all accompanied by their wives. With them were four young natives of the Sandwich Islands, who had been educated at the Foreign Mission school at Cornwall; one, a son of the King of Kauai, was named George Kaumualii, the others were John Honolii, Thomas Hopu, and William Kanui.[3]

Having embarked on the brig Thaddeus, they sailed around Cape Horn, and arrived at Kailua, on the West Coast of the island of Hawaii, on the 4th of April, 1820.

On the 30th of March, when they had just rounded the Northern point of that island, some of the native members of the mission went ashore, and were informed by their countrymen that Kamehameha I was dead, his son Liholiho king, the taboos abolished, the idols destroyed and the heiaus overthrown.

In this the missionaries saw the Hand of God, who had thus providentially overturned paganism, and prepared an unencumbered field for the preaching of Christianity.

As for us, we doubt that agnosticism, religious indifference and an unwillingness to bear any restraint, are dispositions of the soul favorable to the reception of the truths and commandments of the religion of Christ.

Having found the King in his grass hut, the missionaries asked permission to settle in the country for the purpose of teaching the nation their religion, "literature and arts."

Liholiho promised that he would take their request under consideration. The next day the missionaries renewed their efforts, and knowing from the example of the patriarch Jacob, the power of a gift, they presented the King with an elegant copy of the English Bible and a pair of spectacles.

Considering that the savage princeling did not know any English apart perhaps from a few curse and slang words learned from the beachcombers who lived in his dominions, and that his eyesight most likely allowed him to distinguish clearly even small objects at considerable distance, as children of nature are wont, it is

1 Tracy, History of the A. B. C. F. M., pp. 30, 32.
2 Ibid, p. 38.
3 Ibid, pp. 79, 80.

difficult to be of Rev. Mr. Bingham's opinion, that this present "to such a personage and at this juncture . . . . . was exceedingly felicitous."[4]

It did not hasten the King's assent, and when a few days later he was asked that a part of the mission might disembark at Kailua, and the rest at Honolulu, on Oahu, he proved not to be in need of any optical instrument to sharpen his political insight, for he replied: "White men all prefer Oahu. I think the Americans would like to have that island." Finally, however, permission was granted to reside and labor at the different islands for a year.[5]

Consequently Mr. and Mrs. Thurston were selected to remain at Kailua, while the rest of the party sailed for Honolulu, where they definitely disembarked on the 19th of April.

Three months later Messrs. Whitney and Ruggles and their wives took up their residences at Waimea on the island of Kauai, where George Kaumualii had preceded them and where they were kindly received by that young man's royal sire.[6]

Mr. Loomis was sent to Kawaihae on Hawaii, to instruct the prime-minister Kalanimoku and his household.

In Honolulu, a school was started a month after the arrival of the missionary party, in which within a few months they had the satisfaction of instructing some forty regular pupils.

The children were taught the fundamental truths of Christianity by repeatedly cantillating them, a method which later on was also adopted by the Catholic missionaries, and which has always proved very efficacious indeed.

Here is one of the lessons the pupils of the Protestant missionaries were taught in the first three months of their activity in Honolulu.

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."
"Jehovah is in heaven, and he is everywhere."
"Jesus Christ, the good Son of God, died for our sins."
"We must pray to Jehovah, and love his word."
"God loves good men, and good men love God."[7]

The Ten Commandments and a small catechism were soon added, before yet books in the Hawaiian language were prepared.[8]

In the early part of 1821, Liholiho and his chiefs removed to Honolulu. Mr. Loomis accompanied Kalanimoku. The missionary who had settled at Kailua also soon left his station. Previous to the King's removal, Mrs. Thurston had been insulted by a vile heathen priest, whilst her husband was occupied in his school. Instantly breaking away, she fled to her natural protector, who, "himself a host" was not slow in teaching the assailant a practical lesson in Christian morals. After the departure of the chiefs they did not feel secure on the Big Island and joined the brethren on Oahu.[9]

About this time Mr. Bingham records the following: "About the middle of August, Holo, a chief of low rank, being very ill, was visited by Mr. Loomis and Hopu, to whom he gave some evidence that he believed the truth and loved it. Hopu, at one time, finding an English Bible, which, though unintelligible to the sick man, was lying on his bosom, asked him the reason for it. He replied, 'I love Jehovah, and wish to be with Him.' "[10]

4 Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands, p. 87.
5 Bingham, op. cit. p. 90.
6 Bingham, op. cit. p. 99.
7 Bingham, op. cit. p. 114.
8 Bingham, op. cit. p. 118.
9 Bingham, op. cit. p. 125.
10 Bingham, op. cit. p. 147.

This is the first recorded case of *bibliopathy* in the Sandwich Islands. The practice of using the Holy Book for the purpose of curing and other superstitious ends still continues, and if this form of bibliolatry is a mark of piety, the native kahuna who in 1903 killed a sick man by hitting him on the head with a voluminous Bible, to drive out red devils, the originators of his disease, must have been very pious, indeed.

On the 7th of January, 1822, the missionaries commenced printing in the Hawaiian language.[11] On this day the first sheet of a Hawaiian spellingbook was struck off.

In March of the same year they also printed for the chiefs some port-regulations, the purport of which was that any captain putting ashore strangers without authorization, was to be fined $30, and was moreover obliged to take them back on board his vessel.[12]

No other printing was done that year, besides a supply of approbation tickets to encourage the pupils, and the alphabet, which was a pamphlet of 16 pages.

The number of regular attendants at school rapidly increased till they amounted (end of March, 1823) to about 200 at Honolulu, 60 at Kailua, and 45 at Waimea. Besides these, numbers of individuals were acquiring the alphabet, and combining the letters by the aid of occasional instruction.[13]

Soon some of the chiefs were able to write to each other short billets.[14]

On account of the inability of the missionaries to speak the native tongue, little success was obtained during the first few years in the teaching of religion. They used to preach in English, and had their addresses interpreted by their Hawaiian catechists. Only in August, 1822, after a sojourn of over two years in the country, Mr. Bingham undertook to preach without the help of an interpreter.[15]

In March 1822, an English missionary in the Society Islands, Rev. William Ellis, on an intended trip to the Marquesas, touched at Honolulu. He was accompanied by two natives from Tahiti, whom it was his desire to establish as native teachers in the Marquesas.[16]

This missionary being detained in Oahu for four months by unforeseen circumstances, soon noticed the great similarity existing between the language of the island of Tahiti, with which he was familiar, and the tongue of the Sandwich Islanders.

In two months he was able to speak it with facility. Seeing the advantages they might hope for from his cooperation, the New England missionaries requested him to fix his residence among them. He consented, and having gone for his family, returned in February, 1823.[17]

Shortly afterwards a first reinforcement of American missionaries arrived, consisting of three ordained missionaries, two licensed preachers, one physician, all accompanied by their wives, a layman to act as superintendent of secular concerns, three Hawaiians, one Tahitian and a colored woman, qualified to be a teacher.[18]

Hereby it became possible to extend the efforts of the mission, which till then

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11 Bingham, op. cit. p. 156.
12 Bachelot's Journal, p. 211.
13 Report of A. B. C. F. M., 1823, p. 110.
14 Same Report, p. 111.
15 Bingham, A Residence, p. 168.
16 Ellis, Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, 1828, p. 32.
17 Ellis, Narrative, p. 33.
18 Report of the A. B. C. F. M. 1823, p. 115.

had been confined principally to the islands of Oahu and Kauai, to the other islands of the group.

In order that the arrangements for the establishment of missionary stations on Hawaii, the largest and most populous island, might be made with the advantages of local knowledge, it was agreed that three of the American missionaries and Mr. Ellis should visit and explore the island.

The party arrived at Kailua on the 26th of June; Mr. Ellis, who had been detained somewhat on account of his wife's indisposition, followed several days later.

The missionaries proceeded on their journey on the 18th of July; some of them went in a canoe, the rest travelled on foot. Messrs. Ellis and Thurston were among the latter.

Whenever they reached some hamlet or village, they took care to collect the people, and preached about the fundamental truths of the Christian religion; they frequently insisted on the doctrines of the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.

Mr. Ellis especially was careful to gather information anent the legends, customs, industries and the ancient religion, which, though officially abolished, had yet many devotees. The result of his researches is found with the recital of his journey in his "Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii", which work is substantially identical with the fourth volume of his "Polynesian Researches."

The missionaries made also a census of the inhabitants by counting the houses, and allowing five persons to each house. Since each family had several huts[19], the given numbers—(they estimated the population of the Big Island at 85,000)[20] are probably too high.

During this tour the missionaries did much towards the introduction of Sunday observance; they also flattered themselves with having checked the criminal custom of infanticide, which up till that time was alleged to prevail in the islands to a disquieting extent.[21]

The party returned to Oahu in the beginning of September. Soon afterward Rev. Mr. Thurston again took charge of the Kailua mission, this time being assisted by the Rev. Artemas Bishop. Their services on Sundays were well attended, the average attendance during the year 1824 being 400; the chiefs Kuakini, Kapiolani and Kamakau took great interest in the mission and frequently exhorted their subjects to attend assiduously to the "palapala" (reading) and the "pule" (prayer). A station at Waiakea, Hilo, was commenced in the early part of 1824; it was temporarily entrusted to the care of Mr. Ruggles. A mission at Lahaina, Maui, had been established in May, 1823, and was in charge of Messrs. Richards and Stewart.

In November, 1823, King Liholiho, accompanied by one his queens and several attendants, embarked for London, as will be told with more detail in the next chapter. He left his dominions in the care of Kalanimoku and Kaahumanu.

It is well to notice here what Mr. Ellis says concerning the standing of the former of these two chieftains.

Kalanimoku "had long been prime-minister, in rank *second only to the king, and having in fact the actual government of the whole of the Sandwich Islands.*[22]

Mr. Bingham says that Kaahumanu was superior, and Kalanimoku second,[23]

19 S. M. Kamakau in "Au Okoa," Jan. 13, 1870.
20 Report of A. B. C. F. M. 1824, p. 98.
21 Ellis, Narrative, pp. 324-330. Cf. Bingham, Residence, p. 368.
22 Narrative, p. 420.
23 Residence, p. 205, cf. also p. 212.

but his testimony is open to suspicion, whilst Mr. Ellis is impartial, and was at least as well informed as his colleague.

On May the 2d, 1824, Mr. Bingham left for the island of Kauai temporarily to assist Mr. Whitney, who was then stationed at Waimea. When taking leave of the chiefs at Honolulu, he found Kaumualii, the Kauaian king, "seated at his desk, writing a letter of business."[24]

This chieftain had been kidnapped by Liholiho in October, 1821, and although he had left his queen Kapule behind him on Kauai, was given Kaahumanu, Kamehameha's widow, as a wife.[25]

On the 26th day of May, Kaumualii, whom less than three weeks before Mr. Bingham had left in good health, had departed this life. His death may have been a natural one; but it was not considered so by his son George. In a conversation which Mr. Bingham had with him, he declared that "the old gentleman was poisoned, just the same as he had been himself after having eaten once or twice with Kaahumanu . . . When I was at Oahu," he said, "I never expected to see Kauai again. The old woman (Kaahumanu) gave me a dose; and I had the same sickness that my father had."[26]

A rebellion broke out on Kauai, but was soon suppressed by Kalanimoku. George Kaumualii was made a prisoner and taken to Honolulu, where he died in 1826, perhaps of the same sickness as his father.

The worthy lady who was thus suspected of applying to practical use her share of the poison-god, Kalaipahoa,[27] had hitherto not shown any great interest in the Protestant cause, although from the autumn of 1822 she had taken up reading and occasionally favored the missionaries. Perhaps on account of the loyalty shown by them to her party during the war on Kauai[28], she now attributed the victory over her enemies to Jesus Christ, and publicly gave thanks to God for His preserving care.[29]

From that time on she remained a faithful disciple of the Protestant mission and used her influence to further its interests.

Thanks to the zealous endeavors of the missionaries and the active cooperation of the chiefs, the mission continued widening its influence for the moral, intellectual and social improvement of the natives.

Towards the end of 1826 it began to experience much opposition from the resident and visiting foreigners, who feared that a proposed promulgation of the Ten Commandments as the law of the country, might interfere with their pleasure.[30]

In a circular letter, printed at the mission press, dated October 3, 1826, the missionaries announced that "nearly all the chiefs and leading persons on the islands and many others too, had been taught to read and write so correctly as to correspond by letter," that "the vices of drunkenness and gambling with which the land was formerly almost overrun, were now limited to a comparatively small number;" and that "schools were established in every part of the islands, attended by 25,000 scholars in the whole."[31]

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24 Op. cit. p. 216.
25 Ibidem, p. 148.
26 Residence, p. 230.
27 The image was divided in several parts on the death of Kamehameha and distributed among the principal chiefs. The wood of which it was made was so poisonous that if a small piece of it was chipped into a dish of poi, or steeped in water, whoever ate the poi or drank the water, the natives reported, would certainly die in less than twenty-four hours afterwards. Ellis, Narrative, p. 76.
28 Cf. A Residence, Chapter IX.
29 Ibid. pp. 248, 249.
30 Cf. Report of A. B. C. F. M. 1827, p. 76 et seq.
31 Report of A. B. C. F. M. 1827, p. 95.

CHAPTER III

A Royal Adventure and Its Consequences

Missionaries and Liberals.—Liholiho's Voyage to England.—The Frenchman John Rives and his Negotiations.—The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts.—A new Prefect Apostolic.—Around the Horn.—Arrival in Honolulu Harbor.

The American missionaries in the short space of three years had gained considerable ascendency over both the chiefs and the people of Hawaii.

How great the influence of the Protestant missionaries over the chiefs was, and in how far they may be held responsible for all the important anti-Catholic moves from 1827 till about 1850, may be seen from the following two quotations:

"It is a fact well known to me that since I came to the Islands (1828) the Government has depended on individuals of the Mission for advice on all important measures and for aid in carrying them into execution. I will not go into details in illustration of this, but will state that for the last three or four years, an increased share of this labor has fallen upon me, and I have done it with the approbation of my brethren, using great caution, however, lest I should appear to the world too conspicuous an actor. This I was the better enabled to do by reason of my being a medical man, often called about the persons of the chiefs. To my brethren I made no secret of the course I had fallen into, and they advised me—not by any formal vote, but individually—to persevere." (Letter of G. P. Judd, March 20, 1843, to Rev. R. Anderson, preserved in the Archives of the A. B. C. F. M., vol. 137, Letter 88.)

"There are many things I might say which could relieve your minds, but those are the very things which ought not to be known, e. g., the measure of influence possessed by Mr. Richards and myself in the councils of the nation and over all the other foreign officers, and the plans we have for the future, first to preserve the preponderance of the Hawaiian race; 2d, that of those who owe allegiance to the present Dynasty; and 3d, to keep off all aliens or crush them by wholesome laws impartially administered." (Letter of Dr. G. P. Judd, Dec. 16, 1846, to Rev. R. Anderson, preserved in the Archives of the A. B. C. F. M., vol. 173, letter 103.)

The islands were not Christianized, it is true, nor had any radical change in the morals of the people taken place.[1] But the missionaries were recognized as the official teachers of the nation; their word was of great weight in the councils of the chiefs; old and young flocked to their schools; their prospects of ultimate success were bright, indeed. Confident of their strength they had been perhaps somewhat precipitate in their laudable efforts to make the people live up to teachings as yet far from generally accepted and but imperfectly understood.

The natives, used to the rigid taboos of heathenism and to slavish obedience to their chiefs, at least outwardly submitted to the inconvenience of the Puritan Sabbath and the other rightly imposed moral restrictions. But the greater part of the foreign residents and many a chieftain and commoner as well, bore impatiently with the new order of affairs. In the instruction of the people, they saw a danger to their industry; in the introduction of a code of morals a bar to the full enjoyment of their pleasures.

Thus, whilst the missionaries acquired preponderance and became with their adherents what we might call the government party, a strong party of opposition came also into existence. Two years later this latter party was to receive an able leader in the person of the British Consul-General, Mr. Richard Charlton, whose pet idea it was to introduce a rival religion to neutralize the influence of the American missionaries.[2]

Perhaps he was not the father of this scheme; possibly some of the liberals had already pondered over its feasibility as early as 1823. This might explain a quixotic undertaking of which we must make mention, and which, if not

1 cf. Jarves, History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, 1843, p. 299.
2 Cf. Jarves, op. cit. p. 269-275.

intended by the originator for such a purpose, actually led to the establishment of a Catholic mission in Hawaii.

About the middle of November 1823, King Liholiho, coming from Kailua on the brig Arab, surprised his faithful subjects at Lahaina by disclosing his design of speedily embarking for Great Britain. A council of chiefs was called on the subject. Messrs. Bingham and Ellis attended this meeting.[3]

It does not appear that the King communicated his motives to the illustrious gathering. The missionaries did not like the undertaking; Bingham calls it "a voyage prematurely and injudiciously undertaken, . . . hastily resolved on."[4]

They seemed to have had forebodings that no good for their mission would come out of this voyage; they likely foresaw either a Roman Catholic or an Anglican clergy, as promised by Vancouver[5] follow in the wake of the returning party.

Unable to hinder the execution of the plan, they thought of preventing its possible loathed consequences, by giving to the young monarch "a competent and trustworthy interpreter and instructor" and "interested themselves to secure the services of Mr. Ellis, who being desirous to remove Mrs. Ellis to England on account of her severe and protracted illness, made known his readiness to accept the service."[6]

It had been decided that His Majesty should embark in an English whaleship, "l'Aigle", the master of which, Capt. Starbuck, had offered to the King and his suite a free passage to England. But the captain could not be prevailed upon to take the Reverend Mr. Ellis on board, although a large sum was offered for their passage, and the ship's surgeon "offered to give up his stateroom for their accommodation." The chiefs then thought of fitting out the King's own vessel, the "Haaheo o Hawaii", but the King showed that he cared not as much for Mr. Ellis' company as he pretended, and concluded to forego the "benefit of so wise and in every respect competent a counsellor."[7]

The royal party embarked from Honolulu the 27th of November, 1823. It was made up of the King with Kamamalu, one of his queens, of the chief Boki and his wife, Liliha, and a few other chiefs, amongst whom were James Young, a son of John Young, and the King's secretary and bosom friend, Jean Rives. According to Bingham (Res. p. 204), whom all others have copied in this matter, Rives took passage secretly. Notwithstanding this, he was appointed interpreter of the party and must have been far more acceptable to the King, whose "aikane punahele" he was, than the Rev. Mr. Ellis, whose views on the philosophy of life were diametrically opposed to those of his temporary sovereign.

For Liholiho's character, Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. IV, pp. 446 et seq., and Stewart, A Journal, p. 72, may be consulted. As for Rives, I doubt whether justice has been done him by the several authors who have taken him in hand. It is noteworthy that those who blacken his reputation are persons whom he had contraried, not unjustly. Arago was the first to ridicule him. The delineator of the "Uranie" avows himself that the reason for his animosity was that Rives had prevented him from satisfying his vile lust.[8] Bingham also had good reasons to pour out the phials of his wrath over the little Frenchman. Rives had introduced the Catholic priests. Could he have wounded Mr. Bingham more sensibly?

After touching at Rio de Janeiro, where they were well received by Don

3 Stewart, Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, 1828, p. 174.
4 A Residence, p. 202.
5 Alexander, A Brief History, p. 139.
6 Bingham, A residence, p. 202.
7 Stewart, A Journal, 1828, p. 174.
8 Arago, Promenade autour du Monde, II, pp. 145, 152, 157.

Pedro I, the Brazilian emperor, Liholiho and his train landed at Portsmouth, May 22d, 1824.

On hearing of their arrival, the English government appointed the Hon. F. Byng as their guide and protector, and had them treated with the utmost hospitality. For a couple of weeks these children of nature were lionized by London society, but soon the comedy was to be transformed into a tragedy. About the middle of June, before there had been an opportunity of introducing them at St. James, the whole party was attacked by measles; their systems, weakened by the long voyage and the continual feasting, were unable to resist the virulence of the disease. The members of the retinue, it is true, soon recovered; but the Queen, notwithstanding prompt and able medical attendance, grew rapidly worse and succumbed on July the 8th; her royal consort did not survive long; he breathed his last on the 14th following.

Captain Lord Byron was commissioned to convey the remains of the King and Queen of Hawaii to their native soil in the frigate "Blonde." Before sailing, the surviving chiefs were granted an interview with King George. They left England on the 28th of September.

Jean Rives was not with them. A letter addressed to him by his father seven years before, had reached him about the year 1820 in a somewhat curious manner, and caused him to grow homesick.[9]

From that time on he resolved to look for an opportunity to meet his family. We have seen how he succeeded in his design. After the departure of his fellow travelers from London, Rives went to France. Lord Byron states that he was dismissed from the royal train for drunkenness;[10] Alexander and Jarves say on account of gross misconduct and repeated ill behavior.[11] The latter two make their statement probably on the authority of the former.

It appears extremely improbable that habitual drunkards like the second Kamehameha [12] or Boki should have discarded in disgrace an old companion for having indulged in too copious libations. After the King's death, Rives yet exercised the office of secretary in notifying Kalanimoku of his sovereign's demise. He does not seem to have been aware of having incurred the displeasure of the old Queen-dowager, before he was informed of it by Captain Sumner in September, 1827, on his intended return to Hawaii.[13]

Wyllie (14th annotation to Perrin's Historical Memorandum) alleges theft to have been the cause of Rives' disgrace. Kekuanaoa and James Young are his witnesses. His allusion to the existence of the watch as the corpus delicti is rather ludicrous. If Bingham had believed the story of Rives' accusers, he would not have failed to publish it. But in his memorandum to Anderson, secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, written in 1839, he states that Rives was discarded probably through fear of French influence over the king.

After having visited his family, Mr. Rives entered into negotiations with both the French Government and private parties for the establishment of a French settlement in the Hawaiian Islands. In these different transactions he was probably animated by good faith; neither may we say that he acted under false pretenses. Previous to the King's death, Mr. Rives *was* a taboo-chief (he enjoyed the kapu puloulou)[13a] the bosom friend (aikane) and secretary of the monarch; he *had* extensive domains in the different islands.

9 Anon. Letter, dated Dec. 3, 1825.
10 Narrative of the Voyage of H. M.'s Ship Blonde, p. 61.
11 Alexander, Brief History, p. 185; Jarves, History, 1843, p. 253.
12 Cf. Ellis, Polyn. Researches, IV, p. 44.
13 Cf. 4th Annual Report of the Haw. Hist. Society for 1896, p. 26; and Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du Monde, vol. II, ch. XIV.
13a Kamakau, Nupepa Kuokoa, No. 370.

Mrs. Kekaaniau Pratt states that the following lands were held by her grandfather, John Rives:

One "ahupuaa" named Halekii, and one of the "kahaluu" in Kona, Hawaii.
One "ahupuaa" in Kohala, Hawaii.
The "ahupuaa" of Waiohuli on East Maui, extending from the sea up to the forest.
Kopili, in the district of Lahaina, Maui.
The land of Moakea on Molokai.
The old Rives' homestead at Honolulu, situated where is now the empty lot opposite the Young Hotel.
Pokele, at the corner of Queen and Nuuanu streets.
The land of Puunui, Nuuanu valley, which was Rives' Honolulu residence.
The land of Lelepane and its "lele" at Kalihi-waena, Honolulu.
The land Kuhiawaho at Ewa, Oahu.
A piece of land in Koolau, Oahu.

Father Bachelot was also told on his arrival at Honolulu, that Rives had possessed extensive though uncultivated lands on both the islands of Oahu and Hawaii;[14] but like all others, foreigners as natives, Rives held those lands at the pleasure of the king, who could give and take according to the whim of the moment.

When after his departure Rives had incurred the displeasure of Kaahumanu, she redistributed his lands, whilst she adopted his children.

Rives then was not acting under false pretenses when he tried to form a company for the exploitment of his uncultivated lands. But having lived among Hawaiians from his boyhood on, he had contracted native-Hawaiian business methods and the native irresponsible way of squandering money. To sharp business men his incapacity could not remain long hidden. Hence he failed in his efforts of establishing a joint-stock company in London; in Paris he succeeded, it is true, but the bankers, Javal, Martin Laffitte and Jacques Laffitte, who were induced to furnish the capital, in the hope of opening a new outlet for French commerce, withdrew from him the management of this enterprise and entrusted therewith Captain Duhaut-Cilly.

Whilst thus engaged in negotiations with these bankers, Rives induced also Baron de Damas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to found in the Hawaiian Islands an extensive agricultural establishment.

Under the auspices of the French government a ship "La Comète" was fitted out at Bordeaux, whilst at Havre, Captain Duhaut-Cilly was busy equipping and loading the good ship "Le Héros" for his employers.[15]

In the meantime Rives had applied to the Seminary for Foreign Missions at Paris, for Catholic missionaries. The superior, Rev. Mr. Langlois, being unable himself to grant the request, at the instance of Mr. Rives transmitted the proposition to the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome. Here the request met with a favorable reception.[16]

On December 25, 1800, a new religious congregation had been founded at Poitiers, France, by the Abbé Marie Joseph Coudrin. The name of the new institute was "The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament."

A female branch of the society had been established shortly before. The associates were to devote themselves to the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament as a protest against the prevailing unbelief, and to the education of the young by the opening of colleges and gratuitous schools. The priests were moreover to prepare candidates for the priesthood and for service in the foreign mission. A white habit was adopted as the distinctive garb of the institute, the

14 Journal, p. 189; cf. S. M. Kamakau, in Nupepa Kuokoa, No. 370.
15 Cf. Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du Monde, 1834.
16 Vie du T. R. Pere Marie-Joseph Coudrin, ch. XXXII.

scapular having embroidered the emblems of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, surrounded by a crown of thorns. As a motto the Order adopted the words: "Vivat Cor Jesu Sacratissimum", thereby emphasizing that the aim of all the associates was to enkindle the love of the Divine Saviour in the hearts of men.

Both branches of the new congregation spread rapidly over France. In 1805 some buildings were acquired by the Founder, in Paris, on a street called Picpus. Hence the associates have been popularly known as the Picpus Fathers.

It has been frequently said and written that the priests who had undertaken to gain the Hawaiian Islands over to the Catholic Faith, belonged to the Order of St. Ignatius. "It has been denied," writes Jarves (17) "that the French priests who of late years have been sent upon missions throughout Polynesia were of the Order of Jesuits. But on this point I have the testimony of one of their nation, who was on intimate relations with them and had frequently seen their diplomas in which it was stated that they were subject to the rules of that body."

The Fathers of the Sacred Hearts highly venerate the holy, learned and zealous sons of St. Ignatius of Loyola, and are far from resenting as an insult the name of Jesuit. But truth obliges them to state that never the slightest connection existed between their own humble congregation and the glorious vanguard of the Church.

Seeing the members of his institute increase little by little, the venerable Father Coudrin thought that the time had come for the realization of a long cherished desire; the evangelization of some distant foreign countries.

When therefore in 1825 he went to Rome to obtain of the Holy See the approbation of the Acts of the General Chapter of the Congregation which had been held the preceding year, he profited by the occasion to put himself and his disciples at the disposal of Mgr. Caprano, secretary to the Propaganda. Having successfully accomplished his mission, Father Coudrin left Rome for France on July 21. About this time Rives' request for missionaries reached the Propaganda. Mgr. Caprano at once asked of Cardinal della Somaglia to entrust the children of the Sacred Hearts with this new mission. His Eminence was pleased with the project and wrote almost immediately to Father Coudrin on the subject.

Simultaneously with the reception of this letter, the Founder was informed that a vessel destined for the Hawaiian Islands was being fitted out and was intended to leave towards the beginning of December; a chance to have several priests transported gratuitously was held out to him. The Association for the Propagation of the Faith was then only in its infancy, and missionaries had still to find for themselves the means to defray the expenses of their distant travels. (cf. Vie du Pere Coudrin, p. 506.)

The offer therefore appeared quite providential. Father Coudrin consequently informed the Cardinal-prefect of his acceptance and asked for the necessary faculties for three missionaries.

Having to return to Troyes for the affairs of the Congregation, he directed Father Cummins, prior of the house at Paris, to enter into negotiations with the civil authorities. The French government, by its minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron de Damas, seemed well disposed to the project of sending missionaries to the islands of the Pacific. Therein it saw a means of extending French influence and of promoting its business interests. However, out of fear of the Liberal Opposition in the legislature, the minister dared not to promise open protection; only free passage to the missionaries and the most necessary objects were to be granted.[18]

On December 18th the Papal Nuncio let Father Coudrin know that the facul-

18 Stanislas Perron, Vie du T. R. P. M-J. Coudrin, ch. XXXII.

ties for the Sandwich Islands missionaries had arrived, but seeing the hesitations of the government, he thought of writing to Rome for new instructions.

The Founder answered that when accepting the mission offered by the Propaganda, he had well foreseen that it could not be realized without much trouble and contradiction; that if he had sought the protection of men, it had been out of prudence, but that after all he counted but little on it; that having pondered it all maturely he was decided to let the missionaries embark as soon as the Holy See would have conferred the necessary faculties upon them.

Rome was not long in granting its definitive approval. On the 1st day of February, 1826, Father Coudrin received from the Nuncio all papers relative to the Hawaiian mission, to wit: Extensive faculties, for three missionaries; the decree of the Propaganda establishing Father Alexis Bachelot Apostolic Prefect and Father Abraham Armand and Patrick Short apostolic missionaries in the Sandwich Islands; and other papers of minor importance.

In the following extracts we have a summary of the faculties bestowed upon the missionaries by the Holy See. "Their faculties are very large; they embrace everything except those things which require the episcopal character; to ordain priests and consecrate the Holy Chrism. They may administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, consecrate altar stones and the holy vases, celebrate Mass with or without server, grant indulgences, even plenary ones, &c, &c."[19]

They could furthermore dispense with the ecclesiastical impediments of marriage, with irregularities, absolve from all reserved cases, ... attach indulgences to medals and rosaries. These faculties could be exercised indiscriminately by the three missionaries, under the control and with the approbation of the Prefect apostolic.[20]

Mr. Rives, whom the venerable Founder had frequently met whilst at Paris, ceased not to manifest his ardent desire to take the priests with him. "He would take good care of them, and they might load on board the vessel all they wanted."[21]

Unfortunately, Mr. Rives sailed from Havre on "Le Héros" April the 10th, 1826. It seems to have been his intention first to transact some profitable business in California, and then to return to Hawaii, where he would be in time to prepare for the reception of the French mission.

Our missionary party embarked at Bordeaux in the ship "La Comète" November the 20th of the same year. It consisted of the three priests aforesaid, of one choir and two laybrothers, to wit: Bros. Theodore Boissier, Melchior Bondu and Leonore Portal, and of several mechanics under the leadership of Mr. Ph. A. de Morineau, a French lawyer, who had been instructed by the Government "to establish missionaries and French mechanics in the Sandwich Islands."[22]

On the same day our travelers passed out of the estuary of the Gironde and lost sight of the lighthouse of Cordouan, not to sight any more land, except a distant view of the mountains of Staten Island, before their arrival at Valparaiso. They had sailed midway between Madeira and the Canary Islands, left the Cape Verde Islands to their right, and then, after having crossed the line, passed at night time by the island Fernando Noronha, off the Brazilian coast; the darkness prevented them from seeing it. On January the 13th, 1827, La Comète was off the Straits of Magellan. The sight of even the snowclad peaks of Mount Darwin, which loomed in the South, filled the passengers with delight after having seen but water and sky for over six weeks. But the captain, wishing to keep clear of the land, steered towards the East, sailed around Staten Island,

19 Letter of an An. religious of the SS. HH., Dec. 3, 1825.
20 Fol. Facult. Nov. 27, 1825.
21 S. Perron, Op. Cit. p. 502.
22 Affidavit by Ph. A. de Morineau, Arch. C. M. Honolulu.

and having cleared Cape Horn by a wide sweep as far south as latitude 60°, they reached the 80th degree of longitude (West from Paris) whereafter the ship held to a steady Northward course until off Valparaiso. It was February the 8th when this port was made. The voyage thus far had been prosperous but for a sad accident when five days before arrival one of the crew was lost over board. The party did not suffer much from sea-sickness; only Father Short proved a bad sailor, and could not celebrate Mass a single time during the entire passage. Fathers Alexis and Abraham said Mass on all Sundays and Holydays in their cabin, in the presence of only the laybrothers and two other passengers, the captain not judging it expedient that services should be held on deck, on account of the irreligious dispositions of the majority of the passengers.

The room was so limited that the assistants had to remain standing all the time, whilst the celebrant himself could not make the genuflexions. It hardly needs to be added that the pious worshipers greatly suffered from the heat, perspiration not unfrequently literally drenching even their outer garments.

On the morning following their arrival, the party went ashore to pay their respects to the local clergy. They found besides a Franciscan convent with a few Cordelier Fathers, three churches badly damaged by an earthquake which four years before had destroyed nearly the whole town. They were cordially welcomed by the good friars, and it is to their convent they daily went for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries.[23]

Coming from a country which, then perhaps even more than now, was swayed by irreligion and impiety, our travelers were not a little edified when they witnessed the fervor and intense faith of the Chileans. The churches were crowded during all the services, and the faithful assisted with evident devotion. However, there was an urgent want of priests. When in 1818 the independence of Chile had been proclaimed, the Spanish Padres went back to the mother country. By order of the Holy See the religious orders had taken charge of the vacant parishes, but they were by far not numerous enough fully to provide for the spiritual wants of the population. The children of the Sacred Hearts might have liked to stay there; but another field had been allotted to them by the Vicar of Jesus Christ; thither they had to carry, there to implant, the mustard seed of the Gospel.

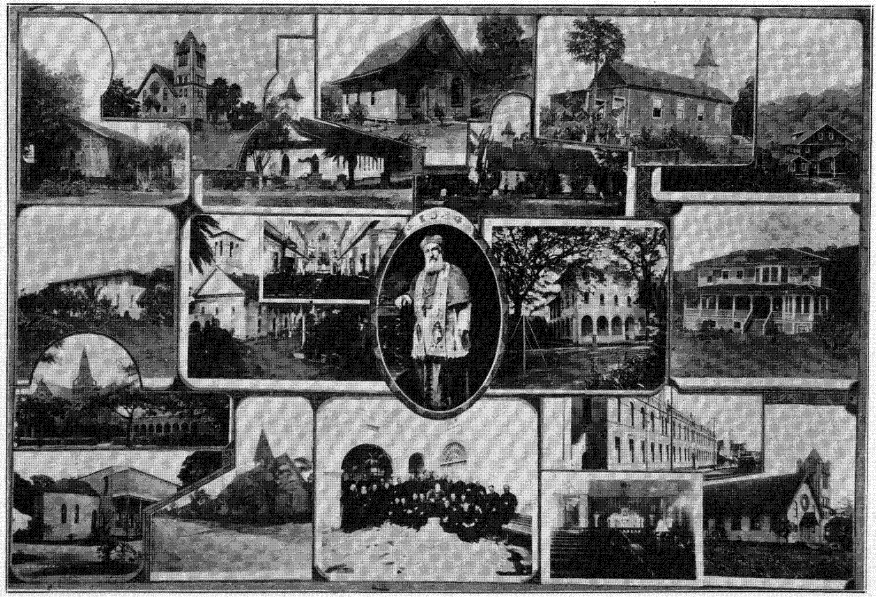
Being informed whilst in Valparaiso, that a British consul and not a few other subjects of the Island Kingdom had their residence in Honolulu, the French members of the party applied themselves arduously to the study of the English tongue.

On February the 25th, "La Comète" set sail for Quilca, the harbor of Arequipa. On Ash Wednesday, which happened to be three days later, Father Bachelot celebrated Mass in his cabin and distributed the ashes to the other members of the party. Having arrived at Quilca on March the 8th, they remained there at anchor until the 25th. The next port, Callao, was reached on the 30th. Although the fathers stayed on board most of the time, their presence acted on the nerves of the officials of the young republic, the existence of which they feared to be in jeopardy by the presence of these three "Jesuits" in Peruvian waters.

Bolivar had left Lima in disgust only the year before; and his faithful Columbian legions had followed him a few months later. Would not these three priests, aided by the laybrothers, overthrow the republic established at the cost of so much blood, and restore the power of Spain?

Fortunately it was learned that the "Jesuit Army" would cross over to

23 F. Bachelot's Journal, p. 59.



BISHOP LIBERT BOEYNAMENS—CHURCHES AND CHAPELS IN HONOLULU

BOKI AND LILIHA

Hawaii. Peru was safe; But the Peruvian government was not egoistic; not they. The brotherhood of man compelled them to take the opportunity of the departure of a Dutch vessel for Oahu, to apprize the chiefs of the oncoming danger.[24]

The Holy Week and Easter were celebrated by the religious on board. On Holy Thursday Father Alexis said Mass and gave Holy Communion to the others; on the two Easterdays, the three Fathers celebrated as usual on Sundays and feastdays.

After a stay of four weeks at Callao, La Comète weighed her anchor and set out for Mazatlan in Mexico. They cast anchor off this port on May the 27th. On Pentecost Sunday, the first of June, their boat, manned by fourteen men, went out fishing in the harbor. The boat capsized whilst riding the heavy surf and the entire crew were thrown into the water. Luckily the accident had been witnessed from a nearby vessel; a boat was sent to the rescue, and eleven men were saved. Of the three who were drowned, one belonged the the mechanics sent by the French government, but not to the missionary party.[25]

The laybrothers thanked Divine Providence for their escape; two of them were wont to engage in the fishing; but on this occasion they had remained on board, wishing to hear Mass on account of the feast.

On the 16th, "La Comète" left Mazatlan and arrived after a prosperous and uneventful voyage of twenty days in Hawaiian waters. On July the 6th about noon, they sighted the snow-capped summit of Mauna Kea piercing the clouds which kept the rest of the island hidden from their eyes. Having left Maui and Molokai to the Southwest, they were near Oahu early in the morning of the 7th. Father Bachelot said Mass at 7 o'clock to ask God's blessings over the mission they were about to establish. Soon Diamond Head was cleared, and about 10 o'clock "La Comète" cast anchor in Honolulu harbor, the missionaries, from what they had heard on the Peruvian coast, being fully prepared for an unfavorable reception.[26]

24 Bachelot's Journal, pp. 92-96, 183.

25 F. Bachelot's Journal, p. 170 et seq.—This accident is probably the cause that Bingham (A Residence, p. 311) and Alexander (A Brief History, p. 201) have stated that Father Armand died during the voyage. Father Armand arrived in Honolulu with the other members of the mission. He left for France on Nov. 1, 1829.

26 Bachelot's Journal, pp. 182, 183.

CHAPTER IV.

Establishment of the Catholic Mission

Rives not arrived.—F. Bachelot sees Boki.—Difficulties with Capt. Plassard.—Meeting of the Chiefs.—The First Catholic Mission Settlement.—First Experiences.—Study of the Hawaiian Language.—Sailing of La Comète.—The King's grant of land.—D. Francisco Marin.—Opening of the chapel to the public.—First Fruits.

Had Mr. Rives gone straight back to Hawaii, he might have been able to save his own property, and to prepare for the Catholic priests a foothold and a less unfavorable reception. But Mr. Rives had not arrived, nor did he ever thereafter tread the Hawaiian shores. He was traveling hither and thither on the Pacific Coast in the Hawaiian schooner Waverley, Capt. Sumner, with a part of Le Héro's cargo. When in August, 1828, the Waverley returned to Monterey there to meet Captain Duhaut-Cilly, Rives was not aboard, having wasted and dissipated all the property entrusted to him, in consequence of his imprudent conduct and incapacity.[1] He died in Mexico, August the 18th, 1833, aged 40 years.

If the absence of Rives put the priests in an awkward position, for the captain of La Comète and the intended agricultural establishment it meant complete failure.

The day after their arrival Fathers Bachelot and Short went ashore to visit a Spaniard by name of Don Francisco de Paula Marin, who was consul for several South American republics, and lived in the islands from the days of Kamehameha I, and had been made a chief. They hoped to be allowed to live on his lands, in order to excite less suspicion, but the Don told them that he could not be of any use to them; he advised them however to call on the American consul, Mr. Jones, whom he described as a man of the greatest influence.

Reluctantly they followed this advice; against their expectations they were most cordially welcomed. The consul invited them to dinner, saying that as Boki, the governor, was also to come, they would have an opportunity to make his acquaintance, and ask him for a dwelling place and a piece of land.

Boki came indeed. Mr. Jones introduced the newcomers and presented their request, which, the governor said, he would take under consideration.

Next day they were told that there would be no difficulty in granting them their request, that orders had been given to prepare a hut for them, but that, to avoid trouble, the matter had been referred to the chiefs.[2]

Whilst they remained for some days in painful suspense, Captain La Plassard's temper had been greatly aroused when he realized the failure of his expedition. His clerical passengers were made to suffer for his ill luck. Their passage to Hawaii had been guaranteed to the missionaries by the French government. They themselves had not made any arrangements either with the captain or with his employers. La Plassard knew this very well. But Rives not being there to receive the cargo and pay for the same, the captain had to get money in some way or other, and he tried to extort it, however unjustly, from Father Bachelot. But neither the Prefect Apostolic nor his companions had come loaded with treasure; they tried in vain to show the captain the unfairness of his de-

1 For Rives' experience on the Pacific coast, see Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du Monde, Paris, 1834.
2 Bachelot's Journal, pp. 184-190.

mands; the tormentor wanted money, and on Father Bachelot's refusal to give drafts on either the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts or his own property, La Plassard threatened to keep in pay their baggage, well knowing that the tools the lay brothers had brought along would be their only means of subsistence in these far away islands.

On July the 12th the chiefs gathered in council to deliberate on the admission of the French priests. The proceedings of the meetings were kept secret. A rumor, however, spread purporting that the brothers would be allowed to stay, but that the priests were only to be permitted to rest ashore from the voyage, then to leave for other strands. The priests thought that, under the circumstances, the best thing to be done was boldly to go ahead. The following day, Brother Melchior, one of the lay brothers, went to look after a shelter. He found an enclosure containing three grass huts, which he rented at $8 a month.[3] The same day the party, six men strong, removed their baggage from the vessel to their new dwelling place, and here they passed their first night on shore. Next morning, July the 14th, 1827, at 10 o'clock, the first Holy Mass was offered on the terra firma of the Hawaiian group,[4] at least if two or three centuries earlier the Spanish discoverers had not celebrated the Holy Mysteries here.

From the unpublished letters of Fathers Abraham Armand and Alexis Bachelot, as well as from the latter's journal, we gather the following description of the first Catholic mission establishment in this archipelago.

The enclosure covered an area of 40 yards square, or about a third of an acre. It contained three grass houses, and a well was situated in the middle of the yard. "One of these huts," writes Father Armand to his sister, "is our parlor during the day and our sleeping room for the night. Fine mats, stretched on the ground, take the place of chairs, beds, table, tablecloths and all the rest. The second hut is our cellar, garret, storeroom, laboratory, workshop, etc. The third, finally, the floor of which is covered with cornstalks and cane leaves instead of mats, does service as chapel in the morning and evening hours, and during the day it is used for a study room. The kitchen is in a corner of the yard; it consists of four posts driven in the ground, surrounded by earth and covered with grass. In the middle of the enclosure is a well, the water of which is excellent. All the ornament of our premises consists in some sugar cane, a few banana trees and a bit of vine that has not borne fruit as yet."[5]

This enclosure with its three huts bore perhaps more resemblance to a small Egyptian cenobium of the 4th century than to a modern convent. However, the members of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts showed that their fervor was not a mere product of place and time. Although they scarcely could have been placed in more unfavorable circumstances, they at once commenced the regular community life. Rising before daybreak from their hard couches, they devoted the early hours to prayer, meditation and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice; breakfast was taken between 7 and 8; lunch about noontime, and supper at sunset, after which the beads and night prayers were said. In the beginning they very seldom left their dwelling, confident that if they kept out of the public eye for some time, the chiefs and people would become familiar with the idea of seeing the French priests around, and, their animosity having cooled down, would tolerate their presence. They were not forgotten withal. Frequently their huts were thronged with visitors, as we learn from a letter of Father Bachelot dated July 26, 1827.

3 Father Bachelot's Journal, pp. 197-201, and Letter of F. Short to F. Cummings, Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 31.
4 Bachelot's Journal, p. 201.
5 Arch. Catholic Mission, Honolulu, M. 26, p. 36 et seq.

He writes: "Although we do not go out, there are but few days that we have not some importune visits, sometimes of foreigners, sometimes of chiefs, the latter never coming without a train. They come in, squat down, speak partly by signs, partly in their language, look at us and contemplate us at ease, and finally leave as they have come. Often they ask that we sell them the objects lying around; once one wanted a blanket. This would be all right, were it not that these 'sales' must be understood as presents."[6]

Speaking of these visitors, Father Short says: "Among the Americans that came to visit us were some spies, as we soon found out by their questions. One of them was the printer of the Protestant missionaries. They all make great professions of friendship and invite us to their houses, indicating the place and the means to find them. If they only could talk French, I would have to carry but a part of the burden. Anyhow by not returning their visits I hope to get rid of them entirely."[7]

With all their poverty and notwithstanding their precarious circumstances, the missionaries felt happy. "Be well convinced," writes Father Bachelot, "that they do not eat nor kill the people here; we shall not suffer here but what we should be exposed to in any other place. As long as we have money, we shall have no trouble; if we only could get a little piece of land, we would be the most happy of men. As for our kitchen, in France our cook would get a patent of invention. With a few potatoes and some native roots (taro) cooked in water only, he prepares an excellent dinner, giving us besides, a melon and some bananas for dessert. Judging from the appetite with which we take our meals, they come never too early. However, everybody moderates his appetite somewhat, since we are not yet used to think of the expense of eight reals as of the loss of so many sous, but as that of five francs; in this way our meals do not expose us to indigestion."[8]

The missionaries perfectly understood that on their ability to speak the native tongue, depended greatly their success in preaching the Gospel, and they applied themselves to its study without delay. This was no easy task, as helpful books were not available. Says Father Short: "There is neither grammar nor dictionary of the Hawaiian language; one finds, it is true, some small tracts containing the alphabet, the rudiments of orthography and some extracts from Holy Writ, but there is nothing on the declensions of the nouns or on the conjugation of the verbs. I have found a little manuscript Hawaiian-English vocabulary which I have copied and the greater part of which I have already translated into French."[9]

After having been suffered to remain quietly at home for a fortnight, the priests were summoned to appear before the regent, Kaahumanu. Fairly guessing the old dowager's intentions and not wishing to expose themselves to a formal order to depart, they prudently neglected to answer this call. Captain La Plassard in his turn was ordered before the queen; he went and was told to reembark the priests. This he resolutely refused to do, "saying that they might take passage in another vessel after a while, or that she might put them into a cask and ship them aboard a whaler." But this alternative did neither satisfy nor comfort her, and when the departure of the vessel drew near, she sent for Boki that he might forcibly put them on board; but La Comète sailed two hours before the

6 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 25.
7 Letter of July 27, 1827; Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 33.
8 Letter July 26, 1827, Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 26.
9 Letter July 26, 1827; Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 26.

governor arrived from a distance of thirty miles, and thus they (the priests) were left behind."[10]

La Comète weighed her anchor on the 27th day of July. The members of the mission felt relieved when the ship that had brought them disappeared at the horizon. For the solution of further difficulties they counted much on the indifference of the chiefs and the influence of the consuls and other foreigners who were friendly disposed. That it would be possible to find means of subsistence they did not doubt, for work had been offered to the lay brothers at $2 a day, and the needs of the little community were few and moderate.

A few days after the departure of the vessel the priests received a visit from Don Francisco. He informed them that three days before, one of the Protestant ministers had requested him to be introduced to the members of the Catholic mission. This the Spaniard declined to do, engaging the minister to go by himself, and assuring him that he would be well received. The Protestant clergymen had expected a call from the newcomers. Before the latter's arrival they had repeatedly stated that they would be pleased to receive them, saying that there was work enough for all. However, it was Father Bachelot's opinion that no good either for their undertaking or for themselves would come from such friendly intercourse, and he thought it prudent to remain at home.[11]

In a letter to his Superior-General, Father Bachelot thus relates the visit of the Protestant missionary: "Anyhow, one of these gentlemen, not finding Mr. Marin to introduce him, addressed himself to some one else, who himself having never entered here, paid us a preparatory visit, and after two days introduced the missionary. As we did not wish to consider this call as made to us all, Mr. Patrick, being a Britisher, received it alone. From the beginning till the end it was an exculpation of their alleged bad intentions, and hostile behavior at the time of our arrival, and so on. . . Mention was made of religion, and the minister was kind enough to admit that there are honest people in all religions, and especially among Catholics; he invited Mr. Patrick to call on the Protestant missionaries and wanted to take him along for that purpose. Father Patrick. . . . did go two days later, but simply to return the call of the minister. The latter received him very amiably, and introduced his colleagues. They conversed on the subject of marriage. . . . and showed some coolness when taking leave. He received a call of another minister two days later, but did not think it necessary to repay the visit."[12]

Somewhat later the Protestant missionaries offered Brother Melchior work in their printing office, which he declined from reasons of conscience.[13]

The 15th of August, feast of the Assumption, and then the national holiday of France, was celebrated by the members of the Catholic mission with all the solemnity which their humble circumstances permitted them.

Says Father Bachelot: "The altar which Br. Athanasius had made, inclosed for twenty-four hours the Blessed Sacrament, to wit, from 6 o'clock in the morning of the 15th till 7 o'clock of the following day. We divided the hours. Our friends desired to make the adoration, dressed in their religious habit; but we believed that to do this during the day would be an imprudence; so we revested it only during the night. . . . We conserve yet our lay clothing, and we have resolved not to leave them before assuming our holy habit, which will appear more distinguished than that which the Protestant ministers wear during their

10 Bingham, Report to the A. B. C. F. M.
11 F. Bachelot's Journal, p. 221.
12 Letter of May 19th, 1828.
13 F. Bachelot's Journal, p. 227.

meetings, and the color of which is black. To have less resemblance with them, our black cassocks will be used for other purposes; . . . as tricorns could be gotten here only at great cost, we shall order from Lima straw hats with large borders. . . . Thus, with the exception of our shoes, our entire habit will be white. . . . We intend to show ourselves in this habit, when knowing somewhat the language, we shall be able to draw advantage from the little excitement which our appearance will produce."[14]

The white habit was used by the Catholic missionaries as late as 1845. It was abandoned in order to conform with the members of the Congregation in Chile, who, for local reasons, had adopted a black habit on October 21, 1843.[15]

A young French lawyer, Philippe August de Morineau, had unofficially been charged by the French government to establish missionaries and mechanics in the Hawaiian Islands. He had remained after the departure of La Comète and passed as the leader of the French colony. In this quality he obtained from the king the cession of a piece of land.

In an affidavit made by him on June 25, 1840, he relates this grant as follows: "I obtained the concession of a piece of land in the neighborhood of the port of Hannaroora, where the French mechanics are established at present. This land was granted to me at the royal residence of Woaola (Hauula?) on August 30, 1827, by a letter written in my presence by Kaouikeouri to Manuia, commander of the town and district of Hannaroora. In this letter which I transmitted myself to Manuia on September the 1st, I alone was mentioned, and the King designated me therein by the name of Monolulu Palani. I hired at once natives for the more difficult work, and we busied ourselves assiduously in clearing, cultivating and otherwise improving our little property. Somewhat later we also built thereupon."[16]

This land is a part of the premises now occupied by the Catholic Mission, according to the testimony of John S. Mitchener and Richard Charlton in 1841. We copy the latter's affidavit as being the more explicit of the two.

"I, Richard Charlton, Her British Majesty's Consul at the Sandwich Islands, do hereby certify that a certain piece or parcel of land situated in the town of Honolulu and now occupied by the French mission was given by Boki, at that time governor of Oahu, to Mess. Bachelot and Short, but whether for their own private use or for the use of the mission I do not know. And I do further certify that the king, Kamehameha the 3d, was present when it was given and that Manuia (at that time captain of the fort) was directed by Boki in presence of the king to measure the aforesaid land."

Given under my hand and seal of office at Woahoo this 24th day of June, 1841.

R. CHARLTON.

Father Bachelot thus narrates the grant of this land by the king:

"Mr. Morineau, always intent on obtaining the concession of the promised lot, and annoyed by the absence of Boki, went to the King's country house, in another part of the island; the governor was also there. The young prince received him with his usual cordiality. . . . (Mr. Morineau) asked him a piece of land at Anaroura, where his workmen might construct a hut for themselves. The King seemed pleased with this request, and granted it without any reflexion. He ordered at once to write to the commander of the fort, who acted as governor in the absence of Boki, commanding him to put the *Palani* immediately in possession. The land is about an acre (*un arpent*) in extension. It is in town. We had it fenced in in native style. . . . We caused a well to be dug, and are now building a hut. . . . We have started clearing

14 Journal, p. 225.
15 D. Vicente Martin y Manero, Historia Ecclesiastica de Valparaiso, II vol., pp. 210, 211.
16 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 90.—This de Morineau left Honolulu in the beginning of December, 1827.

it. . . ."[17] It is thus different from the first enclosure the missionaries leased at the time of their landing, as that already contained a well.

THE ALGAROBA. In his Journal Father Bachelot further writes: "We have cultivated our garden in the French style; we have made a regular garden of it which together with *some plants which are unknown here*, make an object of curiosity of it for both the foreigners and the natives. But the heat and the insects have destroyed everything." Among the seeds planted were "some seeds brought from France" which Father Bachelot showed to Governor Kuakini when, toward the end of November, 1827, that Chief called on the priests. That the historic algaroba tree which stood on the north-east corner of the Mission lot on Fort street is the product of one of those seeds brought from France, and the only survival of the general destruction caused "by the heat and the insects" follows from the following data:

On a lithographed picture of the Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace at Honolulu, made between 1842 and 1846, on the identical spot where stood the aforesaid tree, a large tree is shown which in height surpasses the roof of the church. A note is attached stating that this is "the tree sowed by Mr. Bachelot in 1828, being a magnificent acacia, the seed of which had been brought from the King's Garden at Paris."

In Brother Melchior's daybook we read further under date of January 12, 1832, "The old chiefess passed by our house to go and see the governess; she sent her husband to ask me for some branches of our tree at the end of the yard."

On August 15, 1832, he writes: "The tree at the end of our yard bears fruit. Mr. Pablo (a Spaniard then living at the Mission), calls it in Spanish 'Algarroba.' He knows it; the fruit is principally eaten in times of famine. They grow in the provinces of Malaga and Valence, but this one is of a more delicate and less sweet species."

This algaroba tree, the parent of all the algaroba trees in the Islands, was cut down on October 23, 1919, to make room for the Knights of Columbus building. Shortly afterward the tree was erected on the Ewa side of the Beretania street entrance of the Mission. A detailed discussion on the introduction of this tree may be found in the 18th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, pp. 29-34, where also may be seen the view of the Cathedral above referred to. Cf. also Rock, The Ornamental Trees of Hawaii, pp. 87 ff.

It must be said that the above mentioned grant was in favor, not of the priests, but of the three Brothers, whom de Morineau said to be his mechanics.[18]

On this and other occasions Mr. Morineau endeavored to obtain a written title to the land; this was constantly refused.[19]

Of the two chiefs, Kalanimoku and Boki, who had been baptized Catholics, the former had died in March, 1827; the latter showed at least his attachment to the religion which he had embraced without knowing much about it, by treating its ministers with friendship and protecting them. But even before the arrival of the little missionary band there existed in the very town of Honolulu a small community of Catholic worshipers, consisting of foreigners as well as Hawaiians. Among the former we must mention first of all that strange specimen of a Catholic spoken of by nearly all the explorers who have written about

17 Journal, pp. 227-229. Cf. De Morineau, Precis Historique, p. 318.
18 Letter of Bachelot, 9 Oct. 1827.
19 Journal, passim. De Morineau says however: "Notwithstanding all their efforts to excite Kauikeaouli against a pretension, till then without precedent, I succeeded in obtaining a letter whereby the property of a lot by myself designated, was assured me." Precis Historique, p. 318.

these islands in the first half of the XIXth century, Don Francisco de Paula Marin, a native of Andalusia.

He had come to this group in 1791 on the Princesa Real, and to quote Prof. A. Koebel's Report on the Agricultural Resources and Capabilities of Hawaii, "appears to have served the King in many capacities. His early journal (now unhappily lost) shows that he cultivated pineapples, oranges, beans, cabbages, potatoes, peaches, cherimoyas, horse-radish, melons, tobacco, carrots, asparagus, maize, fig trees, lemons, lettuce, and had made kukui-oil, coconut-oil, candles, tiles, hay, cigars, beer and brandy. Later he records that he planted coffee, cotton, cloves, tomatoes, turnips, pepper, and chilis, wheat and barley, and manufactured castor oil, soap, molasses, lime, pickles, sirup of lemon-juice, and sugar. . . . . He seems to have conducted a real experiment station, combining both agriculture and manufacture."

Arago says that he had herds of cattle, and attributes to him much influence with the King.[20]

Not unfrequently he served the King as interpreter. On December the 10th, 1819, he was appointed a captain in the Hawaiian army "on account of his Merits and manifold Services to these Islands."[21]

This man of many attainments was a queer mixture of religious zeal and human respect, of piety and disregard of Christian morals. Before the overthrow of idolatry, Don Marin was so timid that "although he held the worship of the islanders in the utmost contempt, he had frequently been obliged to assist at their ceremonies, and even in his own house he dared not expose the image of Christ or any other sign of our religion. His *two* wives were subject to the rites of the country, and Marin, whilst teaching them our mysteries, did not attempt to forbid them to obey their heathen priests.[22]

To find zeal for the salvation of souls in such a pusillanimous Christian is certainly remarkable. This appears, however, from the continuation of Arago's quotation: "He told me also that as soon as he knew a person in danger of death, he went to the house, and under pretext of administering some medicine, he baptized the person. He added that he had thus saved over three hundred souls from eternal punishment."[23]

Bingham also makes such mention of him as to show him solicitous about the Christianisation of the natives. "Calling on the interpreter, Mr. Marin, a Spanish settler, we learned that Boki, the younger brother of Kalanimoku, was at a distant part of the island. We stated our wish to see him in respect to our landing and our prominent design to teach the people Christianity. Admitting that "the salvation of the soul was an important object," (the quotation marks are Bingham's) the interpreter soon dispatched two Hawaiian messengers to make speed and apprise the governor of our arrival and our design."[24]

The abolition of the taboo and the introduction of Christianity by the Protestant missionaries seems to have encouraged Don Marin to practice his religion with less restriction, although he appears to have been as much in dread of the missionaries as formerly of the chiefs. At least this is what we may conclude from his description by Father Short:

"There lives in this town an old Spaniard who has been in Sandwich for over twenty years. He possesses great properties and his wives and children occupy a

20 Promenade autour du Monde, II, pp. 196-197.
21 Lydecker in Paper No. 13 of Hawaiian Hist. Soc. p. 21.
22 Arago, op. cit. p. 230.
23 Loc. cit.
24 A Residence, p. 92.

small village by themselves. I have not been informed yet how great their number is." (Bingham states that the number of Marin's children was *thirty*.)[25] "Withal he sticks firmly to the old religion. He baptizes all his children and teaches them their prayers in Spanish and does not allow them to communicate with the pseudo-missionaries. Morning and night he makes them say their prayers and the beads; on Sundays he reads the greater part of the mass, his family gathering around him, and he gives them an exhortation in Spanish. . . . . If polygamy were allowed, he could pass for a patriarch. . . . . He seems glad that we are here, but he tells us at the same time that he dares not to manifest either the satisfaction he feels nor his good intentions; this is why he never comes to see us; but once in a while he sends one of his men—also an old and very devout Spaniard—to ask how we are. This man makes us sick with his questions about the cordon of St. Francis, indulgences, &c."[26]

Whatever may be the truth concerning the three hundred baptisms Don Marin told Arago he had performed, the first thirteen baptisms registered in the Baptism-Records of the Catholic Mission at Honolulu, were performed at Marin's by a Mexican merchant from Sonora on April the 2d, 1827, four months before the arrival of the Fathers. Don Thomas Melendrez was the name of this man, who is perhaps the devout soul Father Short mentions. Here follow the names of these thirteen neophytes:

MARIA AKONIA KAHUELUA, 28 years, and MARIA HUAKALUPE KAHIKOLOA, 24 years; these were Don Marin's two wives. MARIA ANNA, age 15 years, a daughter of a Portuguese, Antonio Ferry (Ferreira ?) by name, and Maria Marin. This Maria and the hereafter mentioned George, are probably Marin's children by some former wife. The fourth is one AKELA KUELUA, 10 years old, born of another Portuguese, José Ragles, and Kahuilaaha. The seven following are the offspring of Marin by his two wives:

MARIA KULUIKI, 9 years of age; MARIA JOANA, 8 years; MARIA ANA, 7 years; MARIA KAMEA, 4 years; PELANIKO A PAULA of 4 years; (by Kahuelua); another PELANIKO A PAULA of 4 years (by Kahikoloa), and one MANUELA, aged 2 years.

The twelfth on the list is another MARIA KAMELA, 8 months old at the time of her baptism and having George Marin and Kuewahi, both natives, for parents. The thirteenth, MIKAELA, is also a little native girl of three years, the parents being Keohani and Kaula.

A native woman, Louisa Rika, had been baptized in the Ladrone Islands.[27] There were moreover several other Catholics of different nationalities.

Thanks to the causes aforementioned and perhaps not less to the marked hostility existing between Kaahumanu, the staunch protectress of the Protestants, and Boki, with whom was the young King Kauikeaouli, then about 14 years of age, the Catholics were suffered to go their way unmolested. Partly out of prudence, and partly because they did not know the language, they abstained from proselytism. Towards the end of 1827, they constructed a new house on the land granted them by the governor, and there, about the middle of January, 1828, they opened the chapel to the public.[29] It was also thought that they could now show themselves on the street without inconvenience. Boki frequently attended the services, and according to Bingham, tried to induce the King to follow the Catholic priests and advised some of the people to learn their system.[30] Many

25 Report to the A. B. C. F. M.
26 Letter to Father Cummins, July 27, 1827; Arch. C. M. Honolulu, M. 26, p. 33.
27 She was perhaps one of the Hawaiian girls, Arago says to have met at Guam. Cf. his Promenade autour du Monde, II, pp. 38 et seq.
29 Suppliment to the Sandwich Island Mirror, 1840, p. 10. Letter of Bachelot to Coudrin 14 April, 1828.—Short to Cummins, Apr. 15, 1828.
30 Report to A. B. C. F. M.

natives responded to the invitations of the governor. "Once, on the occasion of the baptism of a child in our chapel" (March 8th), writes Father Bachelot, "several Hawaiians being present, I addressed them through an interpreter. They seemed to follow my little speech with great interest. Whilst I was speaking, their eyes were attracted by the crucifix and images that adorned the altar. I explained to them what they represented. I did not forget the Blessed Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene, whose disorders and conversion I recalled. This part of the instruction interested them particularly. The sight of the crucifix awakened in them sentiments of respect mingled with fear; they pointed out the wounds and disfigured face. Notwithstanding the poverty of our oratory, their faces bear, whenever they enter it, a marked expression of reverence and recollection; during the sermons of their Protestant ministers they do not experience anything similar. How much more would they be impressed if they could witness our solemn ceremonies, principally if they understood our Holy Mysteries! We endeavor to nourish their good dispositions and we have many reasons to believe that we shall have in them a docile people."[31]

The baptism by Father Bachelot mentioned above, is not the first one the Catholic missionaries performed in the Islands. Their first baptism had been that of a child of Don Marin, Maria Urbano, and was administered at that Spaniard's residence on the 30th of November, 1827. The Apostolic Prefect had donned his white habit for the occasion.[32] Up to the end of 1828 twelve children and five adults had been baptized, besides the thirteen mentioned before. Among the former were the two infants of the American consul Jones, who by giving his children to the Catholic Church, wanted to show his antipathy to the Protestant missionaries.[33]

On September the 17th, 1828, the French ship "Le Héros" entered Honolulu harbor. Her captain, Duhaut-Cilly, paid a visit to his countrymen of the Catholic mission. He found them "poorly lodged, but supporting their situation with alacrity and courage" . . . He adds: "When I visited them in their solitude, they were assiduously occupied with the study of the native tongue, later to be able to exert resources far superior to those of their rivals."[34]

Towards the end of the same year the priests had made sufficient progress in the native language to give catechetical instruction, but they could not speak it fluently enough to deliver continuous sermons. In a relation addressed to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, dated December, 1828, Father Bachelot summarizes as follows their activity up till that day:

"Up to the present day we have not baptized any adults. We want them first to be sufficiently instructed; our catechumens show good will; and it is a consoling thought for us that soon we shall be able to baptize not only children but also the dying, after having taught them what is necessary to salvation. For the moment we confine our ambition to the formation of a small nucleus of fervent Christians. The Lord will do the rest. We are employed in instructing a few natives who have been baptized in the Spanish colonies, or by a Spaniard who has lived in these Islands for a great many years. In the beginning we counted but some ten infidels that followed our catechism class; lately however the invectives of the Protestant ministers have awakened their curiosity; and because the Lord knows how to change evil into good, a great number of natives ask now that the bread of the Word be distributed to them.

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31 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, t. IV, p. 273.
32 Bachelot Journal, pp. 255-256.
33 Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, t. IV, p. 271.
34 Duhaut-Cilly, Voyage autour du Monde, vol. II, p. 282.

"A recent event has moreover contributed to increase the number of our proselytes. On the 8th of this month, feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Mr. Armand was taking a stroll in the country, about a mile from here (Kapalama). Passing in front of a hut, he heard cries, or rather yells, such as savages are in the habit of uttering at the death of their relatives. The thought crossed his mind that the unfortunate whose imminent decease these wails announced, might perchance be breathing yet, and that God's merciful Providence had perhaps directed his steps to this spot. He promptly entered the grass house and seeing that the moribund did actually give some signs of life, he explained to him in a few words the truths necessary to salvation, and having asked for water, baptized him. The bystanders behaved very respectfully, although perhaps not knowing what was going on. Mr. Armand left rejoicing and giving praise to God. Somewhat further he was attracted by the dull moanings of a child and the lamentations of some natives. He entered the house from where these sounds of pain came, and found a baby in a dying condition. Having knelt down in prayer for a few moments he baptized the infant. The parents overwhelmed the missionary with thanksgivings. After Mr. Armand had explored the country somewhat further up, he returned home by the same way and again entered the two huts. The poor natives did not know how to express their gratitude: the child was much improved and the dying woman had come back to her senses. She cast on the missionary glances of tenderness and pressed his hands affectionately.[35] This event was much talked of; the father of the child and several other natives asked to be instructed."[36]

The progress of the mission during the next year is attested by the Baptism-Records which show the following gains:

In January			1	child;
In February	10	adults and	2	children;
In March			4	" ;
In April	30	adults and	3	" ;
In May			2	" ;
In June	24	adults and	3	" ;
In July	1	adult and	2	" ;
Totaling	65	adults and	17	children.

Thus silently and without ostentation the priests sowed the good seed and rejoiced at the sight of the slowly but steadily growing harvest. Well might they begin to breathe freely and confidently repeat after Samuel: "Eben-Ezer; Thus far the Lord hath helped us."

35 This person does not seem to have recovered; the baptism records give her name as Joana Kiewa and her age as sixty; the child, however, whose name was Aliikanakaole, recovered.

36 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, IV; pp. 292 et seq.

CHAPTER V

Persecution

A Committee to Investigate the "Jesuits."—Its Investigation.—It Reports.—Resolutions Adopted by the Protestant Missionaries.—How they were executed.—Anti-Papist Geography.—A Dissenting Minister.—Other Anti-Catholic Forces.—The Rival Chiefs.—Their Reconciliation.—Natives are Prohibited from Attending the Catholic Services.—Visit of the Vincennes.—A Prophecy.—Boki's Fatal Expedition.—A False Alarm.—Beginning of Persecution: Louisa.—Invasion of Chapel.—Priests are forbidden to Preach.—Renegades.—Akeroniko.—Kaahumanu's Coup-d'Etat.—A Cowardly Don.—Valeriano and Kimeone.—Alokia, a Martyr for the Faith.—An Abortive Revolution.

Had the freedom of the Catholic priests to pursue their missionary work merely depended on the inclinations and good will of the native chieftains, it is not likely that obstacles would have been put in their way. The Hawaiians were then, much as they are now, of a disposition similar to that of the Athenians of old, to whom Saint Paul first broke the Good Tidings: "always fond of hearing some new thing." After having listened to the instructions of the Bostonians, they would fain have strolled over to where the missionaries of Rome had erected their humble sanctuary, with the request: "May we know what this new doctrine is which you speak of; for you bring certain new things to our ears. We would know therefore what these things mean." This is what many of them did, in fact, and which many more would have done, had it not been that, just then, in the Protestant temple, the

> " . . . . . pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
> Was beat with fist instead of a stick." (Hudibras)

As early as April 28, 1828, after the arrival of the second reinforcement of the Protestant Mission, Messrs. Bingham, Clark, and Chamberlain had been appointed a committee to inquire into the plans and operations of the Jesuits, settled at Honolulu.

Reverend Mr. Bingham, in a manuscript on file in the archives of the A. B. C. F. M., enters into some details concerning his investigations as to the teachings of the "Jesuits." Since we have here the premises from which was drawn the conclusion that the Jesuits had to go, because their teachings were immoral and dangerous to the State, I will quote freely from said report.

"Take," he writes, "the following specimen of what they (the Catholic priests) would teach.

"*Bapekema.* Baptism is a sacrament, it is the regeneration or new birth by which we become children of God and of the Church. It is the working away of original sin and of all sin.

"*Kopriematio.* Confirmation is a sacrament; it is the giving of the Holy Spirit to them that are baptized and remain steadfast in the right belief."[1]

"*Eukrestia.* The Eucharist is a sacrament in which is the real body and the real blood of Christ, and His soul and His divinity.

"This is an exact translation into English of the pages of a manuscript in native which they taught and which has been handed to us. No one thing perhaps more thoroughly evolves their sentiments than this manuscript manual in the native language, which I found at the house of a native under their instructions, teaching the religious view of the use of images, the invocation of the Saints, prayers to Mary,

1 The translation of the latter sentence is not correct. The native text reads: "I hoopaaia mai lakou i ka manao pololei ana," which translated means: "That they may be confirmed in the true faith."

the Mother of God; as it appears to the natives and to me, in violation of the prohibition of the second commandment[2] which was wholly omitted in that manual, while the last was divided into two. In examining this manual, I objected to the worship of saints and images as forbidden by the first and second commandments of the decalogue.

"The pupils, like true Catholics, admitted that it is forbidden to worship such images or false deities as Dagon and Diana, but not wrong to worship the images of Christ and Mary and the Apostles and to pray to them all."

The answer which Mr. Bingham puts here in the mouth of the Catholic natives is somewhat ambiguous: he wants to make them admit that they have been taught to pray to the images of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints. But this was not the case. We do not possess the manuscript which Bingham speaks of, but the first printed catechism, which is almost certainly its identical reproduction, has the following.

"Q:—Does one break the first commandment who makes an image of Jesus Christ, or of the Cross, or of the things which remind us of Jesus Christ, or of the Cross, or of the people in Heaven?

"Answ.—He who makes those things which remind us of Jesus Christ, of Mary, and of the Saints, and does not pray to these memorials, he does not break the first commandment."

Catholics never pray TO, but often pray BEFORE images. As far as the grammar is concerned, it is only a difference of prepositions; but in theology grammatical blunders are far reaching. Many readers will have to look twice at the Greek words *homoousios* and *homoiousios,* to see that any difference exists between them; however on account of the narrowest of all letters which differentiates them, the Church has been rent asunder for over four centuries, and martyrs have shed their blood.

Rev. Mr. Bingham continues:

"I asked permission to carry this manual to my house and to examine it more thoroughly, promising if I found it to conform to the word of God and to contain the truth to embrace it myself, and to endeavor to interest others in it; and if I found it to contain error, I would endeavor to point out the errors. But such permission was not granted. The objection was: 'You don't believe it.' Probably I was regarded as a heretic. I turned to the passage that presents the Roman Catholic doctrine respecting heretics, and inquired of one of the pupils what they understood to be a heretic. The reply of one of them was very prompt: 'It is those who take one part of the word of God and reject another.' Whether this interpretation was intended to include all who do not receive the apocryphal books as inspired, as well as all those who do not take the inspired books of Scripture, was uncertain. But having observed in the manual the omission of the second commandment, I turned back to the mutilated decalogue and pointed out the omission of the special prohibition forbidding the making of and bowing down to any image or likeness; and asked them in reference to their definition of the term 'heretics,' 'What do you think of those who leave out the second commandment of Jehova?' They were silent."

Silence was indeed the best answer the natives could give the reverend gentleman; objections of the kind, coming from a theologian did not deserve of any answer.

This conversation is reported by Bingham in his "A Residence"[3] under the events of the year 1830; it is however suggested by the context that he places the discussion with Louisa here, inserting it between events of the 16th and 17th of June, not because it took place at that moment, but because Kaahumanu's visit to Don Francisco Marin offered him an opportunity to speak of the Catholics.

2 Protestants divide the first commandment into two, and to avoid having eleven of them, contract the ninth and tenth into a single commandment.

3 Bingham, A Residence, p. 373.

Father Bachelot alludes to the same conversation[4] and seems to suggest that it happened during the year 1829.

At the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, held at Honolulu, January 1830, the committee previously appointed, reported as follows:

"The committee appointed to inquire into the object of the Jesuits now at this island, and make out a communication for the information of the Board, beg leave to state that they have attended diligently to the business assigned to them. They have made inquiries respecting the number, the operations and the prospects of the Jesuits; and have made out and forwarded a communication to the Board, stating the time and manner of their arrival, their number, their occupations, their efforts to teach the people, their prospects, &c., together with their own solicitude respecting them.

"Your committee have beheld with no small anxiety the increasing efforts of these Jesuits to proselyte the people, and regret to state, that they have drawn away a few who have been under the special instruction of the Mission, and have admitted a considerable number to baptism. The Jesuits have been, however, steadily frowned upon by the Chiefs, and have recently been forbidden to proselyte, and the people have been forbidden to attend upon their instructions.

"The committee would earnestly recommend to the meeting to determine upon a course, which the Mission as a body and as individuals should pursue in relation to this dangerous sect.

"All which is respectfully submitted.

H. BINGHAM,
E. W. CLARK,
LEVI CHAMBERLIN,
Committee.

The minutes of January 21st have this:

"The report of the committee on subject No. 10, (which had been laid upon the table) was taken up, and after a full consideration was accepted, and is as follows:

"The committee appointed to draw resolutions respecting the course proper to be pursued by us with regard to the Jesuits present the following:

"Whereas, in the sovereign and merciful dispensations of God's Providence, we have been sent to these islands of the sea for the purpose of making known the Religion of the Bible in its fullest extent; the character of God; the ruined condition of man by nature; the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ; and the necessity of holiness of heart to the enjoyment of happiness here or hereafter; we thus constituted, by the Great Head of the Church, builders of Zion's walls, view with holy jealousy the approach of any, for the purpose of tearing down what God has enabled us to build, or of erecting a superstructure on a foundation not authorized by the King of Zion; and that as watchmen on the walls, we are bound to give alarm to our fellow laborers, and stand ready ourselves with spiritual weapons to meet the aggression; Wherefore,

1, Resolved, from what we know of the Jesuits—from the manner in which they came to these islands—from the manner in which they have attempted to inculcate their peculiar tenets—from the nature of these tenets themselves, and the influence which they are exerting upon this ignorant people; that we consider them dangerous to the civil government of these islands, that we consider them exerting a deadly influence in drawing away the souls from God's word; as hinderers of the progress of the people in civilization and literature; as enemies of sound morality, and as enemies of the Religion of Jesus Christ.

"2. Resolved, that we recognize in its fullest extent the grand truth that every man for his religious opinions and practices, when not leading to open immorality, is accountable only to God and his own conscience, and therefore all coercive measures of the civil authority to control religious opinions and practices, except as above mentioned, are improper and injurious.

"3. Resolved, that we fully recognize the right of the civil government of these islands to say what foreigners may or may not reside among them, so the rulers of

4 Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, VI, p. 96.

this people have a perfect right to send any foreign resident from the islands, even without assigning the reason.[5]

"4. Resolved, that we fully recognize the right of the civil government of these Islands to punish all who transgress the laws of the land, foreigners as well as native subjects; and hence, should any individual be induced to violate the laws of these Islands, through the instruction of any foreign residents of any class, that both the person so offending and the person communicating such instruction be liable to the penalty of the law.

"5. Wherefore, Resolved, that we do not consider it persecution in the least degree, when the Chiefs ask our advice or opinion on the subject, fairly to tell them that in our estimation the Jesuits as a body are dangerous to the civil, moral and religious prosperity of the Islands. But that we advise the Chiefs not to inflict any punishment upon them, or upon those that follow them, on account of any part of their religion; but if they break the laws of the land, that they may be punished for that alone.

"6. Resolved, that it is our duty as missionaries of the Cross, and as teachers of this people, to make known to the Chiefs historical facts respecting the principles and practices of the Jesuits, and that we urge them to compare these principles and practices with what they know of God's word, that thus they may be judges themselves of what is proper.

"7. Resolved, that if it should be thought necessary we consider it highly proper to teach the people from the pulpit on this subject at Honolulu, but would recommend generally that the subject be treated as not to point out the Jesuits except by fair inference; and that at the other stations we say nothing respecting them, except in private.

"8. Resolved, that we tell the Chiefs when consulted, that if they design to send the Jesuits away, as they have said, or that they do by no means consent to their staying here, they cannot in the proper exercise of civil authority prohibit their preaching or proselyting, if they persist in doing so, without taking away the right of conscience from them, and thus subjecting religious opinions to the law of the land.

"9. Resolved, that the consideration we have such enemies in our midst, should lead us to make greater exertions to teach this people to read, think, reflect, and compare with each other the different parts of the grand system of religion contained in the Bible, that they themselves, guided by the Spirit of God, may be able to judge between truth and error; and that we pray fervently that the Great Head of the Church will bless our instructions, and overrule all opposition and cause it to redound to his own glory.

"Respectfully submitted,

L. ANDREWS,
S. WHITNEY, } Committee.
J. S. GREEN,

Rev. Mr. Bingham in his Report to the A. B. C. F. M. gives a general idea of the manner in which this program was executed.

"The missionaries of the Board," says he, "occasionally preached on the evils of idolatry and the great defection of the churches planted in the early days of Christianity, once sound, pious and faithful, and especially that of Rome, and the decline of vital religion and the revival of a species of idolatry has been treated as a matter of deep regret and lamentation, as proving, too, the deceitfulness and depravity of the human heart, and carefully to be guarded against here."

In conjunction with the resolutions taken in the General Meeting of the missionaries of the above quoted declaration of Rev. Mr. Bingham, it is curious to transcribe here the 24th annotation made by Mr. Wyllie on Mr. Perrin's Historical Memorandum.[6]

Mr. Perrin stated: "Be this as it may, a Committee of Protestant missionaries

5 This is perfectly concordant with actual jurisprudence. Cf. for instance, the action of the Belgian government in regard to Baroness Vaughan in 1909. However, when in the same year the Portuguese government wished to expel foreign Catholic priests from its colonies, they were prevented from doing so by the energetic protests of Germany, Austria and Italy.

6 See p. 235 of Annual Reports read before His Majesty to the Hawaiian Legislature, Honolulu, 1851.

was constituted in April, 1828 to direct the war against the newcomers, and the pulpit resounded with the comparisons between Catholicism and paganism." Hereby Mr. Wyllie makes the following annotation: "The above account seems to have been taken from page 11 of the Supplement to the Sandwich Mirror of the 15th Jan., 1840, attributed to John Coffin Jones, Esq. who had been consul of the United States, but was suspended from his functions in consequence of his interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom. In a manuscript in which explanations are given upon all these charges embodied in that supplement, the following appears in the handwriting of the late Mr. Richards:

'A committee was appointed, not literally according to the statement, but the particulars Mr. Chamberlain can give you. It is not possible to state a more barefaced falsehood, than what is stated on the 11th page respecting the denunciations from the pulpit, &c. I do not believe there is a native on the Islands who can mention one single thing ever said in public by any missionary whatever. But you had better inquire of the brethren at Oahu.'"

This statement pours a strange light on Mr. Richard's veracity. However, this reverend gentleman lived on Maui, and no Catholic priest being there for the moment, it was not necessary to inveigh against them from the pulpit. The natives outside of Honolulu were, however, not entirely to be left in ignorance as to the wickedness of the Pope and his messengers.

"We have not been entirely silent," (in informing the natives about the Roman Catholic religion) says Rev. Mr. Bingham, "The mission published a small but general geography for the use of the people, in which a brief outline of history was included, as usually following chiefly the plan and matter of Woodbridge's Geography; in this the wakeful inquirer would not fail to see that different results followed from a religion which labors to bring the whole population acquainted with the Bible and that which not only does not encourage the universal reading of the Bible in the vernacular tongue, but discourages and prohibits it to a great extent under heavy censures and penalties. Besides this and all the various means the people had of forming some judgment of the character of Romanism and of comparing its doctrines and ceremonies and policies with the Bible, it was deemed advisable to translate the principal parts of the Rev. Jonas King's letter to his Roman Catholic friends in Syria, stating in a style well adapted to convince its teachers, but to persist in their rejection."[7]

The principal point Woodbridge's Geography endeavors to bring home to the students (at least in the Hawaiian translation[8]), is that all Catholic nations are lazy, ignorant, pleasure-loving and poor; France being the only exception, care being taken never to mention the existence of any schools, whereas the Protestant countries all abound in schools and universities, and are inhabited by thrifty, skillful, learned people, all faithfully serving God.

The geography being very concise, the translators had to be extremely solicitous to select only the most striking details. In Catholic Austria nothing was thought more characteristic of the country and the people than the existence of "a beggarly people called gypsies; a dreadful people without shame or knowledge or industry, begging and stealing being all they know."

Heathen Japan is remarkable chiefly for its contempt of Catholic priests. "They once had a law there, to trample upon the Cross; and those who did not want to trample on the Cross, were put to death. They did this to show their contempt for the missionaries of the Pope."

Of thirteen lines allotted to Japan, five lines are devoted to the above quoted "geographical" information.

7 Bingham, Report to the A. B. C. F. M.
8 The Hawaiian edition "He Hoikehonua" was prepared by the Rev. Messrs. Gulick and Whitney.

HONOLULU HARBOR IN 1821

KALANIMOKU

Of course, Woodbridge's Geography was but a textbook; it was the duty of the teacher further to explain and to draw suitable conclusions. We may not forget that the principal teachers were the missionaries, and the principal pupils the chieftains and chiefesses.

Although a resolution which practically meant to encourage and induce the chiefs to expel the Catholic priests, had been passed in the General Meeting of the missionaries, not all of them were in favor of this course. As Bingham has it—I again quote his interesting report—"About this time Governor Adams (Kuakini) was encouraged by one of our missionaries to believe that no efforts ought to be made by the government to restrain or to send away the Catholic missionaries, but just to leave them to the disposal of Providence, to go or to stay, to preach and proselyte or to refrain. When Adams mentioned this to another missionary, he objected and said he thought the sovereign had a right to deny them a residence in the kingdom, as they were unwelcome or dangerous to the state. Of course he was, on the 'disagreement of the doctors' or novices, left to decide for himself on the merits of the question."

This was very likely one of the missionaries residing at Honolulu, perhaps the same who wanted to enter into friendly relations with the priests when they arrived in 1827.

If we remark further that the greater part of the missionaries were stationed on the other islands and only came to Honolulu once a year for the General Assembly, we may perhaps safely infer that all active opposition against the Catholic priests was concentrated in the sturdy and unbending Mr. Bingham, to whose influence the majority of the ministers had yielded in the general meeting of January, 1830.

The Bostonian missionaries were, however, not alone in their efforts to prejudice the chiefs against the Catholic religion. "Several gentlemen in no way connected with us," writes Bingham,[9] "gave them hints of the oppressive and sanguinary character of Romanism wherever it had the ascendency, and they could not but see from such accounts that its prevalence here (in Hawaii) would be a national evil." . . . "The declaration of Captain Dale of the Fawn that in a great slaughter in England by the Catholics his ancestors perished, affected the mind of the King deeply and when Captain Dale said to him: 'If the Roman Catholics gain much influence here, you may expect your islands to be filled with blood,' or to this effect, he fully resolved to throw the weight of his influence against the propagation and prevalence of that system, and it is believed he has never for an hour been willing that it should prevail in opposition to our system, though he has not been at heart attached to the self-denying doctrines of the Bible."[10]

Other American traders and mechanics, not caring whether the Catholic religion was introduced or not, but afraid of the French competition, may likewise have told the chiefs about the sanguinary (!) character of the "Romanists."[11]

All this preaching and falsification of history would have proved ineffectual on account of the indolence of the native mind, had not a sudden thirst for adventure come over Governor Boki.

It is easy to convince a Hawaiian's mind; but on the contrary it is very

9 Bingham, Report to the A. B. C. F. M.
10 Ibidem.
11 Cf. Bachelot's Journal, pp. 196 and 208.

hard to make him act in accordance with his convictions, especially when acts of violence or strenuous efforts are called for.

Kaahumanu, notwithstanding the 350 pounds of matter wherewith her will had to struggle, but thanks perhaps to the oft repeated infusions of energy by Rev. Mr. Bingham, was alone, among all the chiefs, ready to take action against the *Palani*. But her hands were tied by Boki, who fain would have snatched the regency from her. In the beginning of 1829 the relations between the two antagonists became strained to the breaking point. Boki was said to encourage his subalterns to destroy Kaahumanu,[12] whilst the Queen-Regent laid under strong suspicions of being busy in mixing the poisonous cup for her hostile relative,[13] if we judge from the rumors that then circulated in Honolulu.[14] The governor seems to have contemplated striking a decisive blow and gathered armed men at Waikiki to overthrow Kaahumanu. He might have dethroned the young king as well, and thereby but have entered into his own, for Boki was the rightful heir to the scepter of Oahu.[15] But he seems not to have been very serious about it, if we may judge from the ease with which he was dissuaded. "Kekuanaoa, a firm friend of the Queen, went boldly to the governor, who would gladly have avoided this interview, and rebuked him for his ignoble and mad design to put down Kaahumanu by war. 'No, no,' the confused governor replied. 'If you wish to kill her, continued Kekuanaoa, there she is in such a house, unattended by armed guard, go and despatch her at once, if it is that what you want; but do not set the nation in arms to destroy one another in war. 'Aole! not so,' he replied."[16]

On the 9th of April a kind of reconciliation between the rival chiefs took place at Bingham's residence.[17] Having thus entered into more friendly relations with Boki, Kaahumanu prevailed upon him after some time to take steps in order to arrest the progress of the Catholic religion. Consequently on the 8th of August, Boki not daring to refuse her pressing solicitations, caused to be published in the streets of Honolulu a proclamation prohibiting all the natives from attending the services of the Catholic priests, on pain of being exiled or even of being thrown into a canoe and abandoned to the waves. In a letter F. Bachelot says: "On pain of being deprived of their belongings, having their house burnt, being put in prison, and chastised with rods." This prohibition did not dishearten the neophytes, who then, as later on, showed much attachment to the faith. One woman, principally, who had been baptized by the Spaniards in the Marianna Islands where she was reared, distinguished herself by her invincible firmness. The Queen ordered her to appear before her and urged her to frequent the Protestant services. Louisa refused unwaveringly and was not to be moved either by promises or by threats. On August 23, she was met by the towncrier who asked her whither she was bound. She merely answered: "For the Catholic service," and was left alone.[18]

The priests had not officially been notified of Boki's prohibition; they only heard of it by common report. However, to prevent difficulties, they deemed it advisable to check the zeal of their neophytes and discourage their attendance

12 Bingham, A Residence, p. 341.
13 They were first cousins, Cf. Alexander, Brief History, Appendix E.
14 Bachelot's Journal, p. 195; cf. also Bingham, A Residence, p. 230.
15 Arago says that Boki's brother, Kalanimoku, was a son of Oahu's last king, Kalanikupule; (vol. II, pp. 171-2) whilst according to the genealogy given by Alexander, Brief History, p. 330, Boki and Kalanikupule were first cousins. In view of the punaluan practices of the Hawaiian chiefs, both authors may be correct.
16 Bingham, A Residence, p. 342.
17 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 342, 343.
18 Annals de la Propagation de la Foi, VI, pp. 94, 95. Letter of Bachelot to Coudrin, Aug. 10, 1829.

at the chapel. The natives unwillingly absented themselves for a time from the services; but having been told that Boki would not annoy them, they soon began again to seek instruction privately. But, although the priests still endeavored to repress their ardor, they gradually became more bold in their attendance and ultimately came to the chapel without fear. The priests now hoping that the storm had blown over, no longer refused instruction, but again commenced their labors publicly and continued them till the latter part of the same year without hindrance.[19]

In fact, when Kaahumanu gave orders that the penalties enacted by law against idolaters were to be applied to the natives who attended the Roman Catholic services, Boki openly refused to comply with these unjust orders, and often he was heard publicly to remark that he could see no just reason why the ministers of the Catholic Church had not as much right to teach the doctrine they professed as the missionaries from the United States.[20]

But soon Boki was to be removed from the scene of Hawaiian politics, and with him the barrier that had kept the enemies of the *Palani* at bay.

On October 13, 1829, the U. S. ship of war Vincennes dropped anchor in Honolulu Harbor. Her captain, W. C. B. Finch, was bearer of a letter from the U. S. Secretary of the Navy, written by direction of the President, and directed to Kamehameha III, congratulating the King on "the rapid progress which had been made by his people in acquiring the knowledge of letters and of the true religion—the religion of the Christian's Bible."[21]

The chief aim of this visit seems to have been to strengthen the hands of the American missionaries, which effect was fully attained. The chiefs were exultant, and one of them, chiefess Kapiolani, exclaimed: "O, Mr. Stewart,[22] greatly, indeed, are we favored in the visit of this captain of a man of war, and greatly are we blest in such a communication from the high chief of America; great indeed, is the joy of my heart, for I have thought that the *CAPTIVITY OF HAWAII .... IS NOW NIGH TO AN END.*"[23] The italics in this sentence are Mr. Stewart's.

Since Hawaii up till that time had never been in captivity, it was rather a strange expression, but probably meant that Hawaii was soon to be delivered of the dreadful Prefect Apostolic who was sent by the Pope to subdue and tyrannize the poor Hawaiians.

On Saturday, the 31st, Captain Finch went on shore with Rev. Mr. Bingham as interpreter, to meet the King and governor Boki in a private conference, respecting the claims of the American merchants upon the native government, to secure payment of which he had tendered his services through the American consul to the respective houses interested.

The next day an investigation of accounts took place which resulted in the acknowledgment of about $50,000 due to different American merchants and shipmasters, with the pledge on the part of the chiefs to liquidate the whole within the ensuing nine months. The debts were principally those contracted by the late king, Liholiho, and by Kaumualii of Kauai previous to his death. Sandalwood for the payment of the same claims had been collected after the

19 Supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror, 1840, pp. 11, 12.
20 Ibidem, p. 12.
21 See the letter as reported by Bingham, A Residence, pp. 355, 356.
22 This Mr. Stewart had been a missionary on the Hawaiian group between 1823 and 1825 and was now chaplain on the Vincennes.
23 Stewart, A Visit to the South Seas, 1832, p. 336.

visit of Captain Jones, but appropriated by Boki to new purchases without the knowledge of the regent and king.[24]

The governor of Oahu, although very enterprising—he kept a hotel and a store,[24a] wherein he personally served the customers—seems to have been like his friend, Mr. Rives, abler in making debts than gains; and, says Mr. Bingham, "found it difficult to meet the demand of Oahu's share of the national debt, and what was due from himself. . . . Being told that sandalwood was abundant at the New Hebrides, he hastily formed a project which was to repair his fortunes and to restore him to fame, or consummate his ruin. . . . He fitted out two vessels, the Kamehameha and the Becket. . . . The King objected to Boki's going in person even after he had gone on board to sail . . . But Boki answered that he would never go ashore till a great chief was dead. . . . The expedition sailed Dec. 2d, 1829. The Kamehameha, commanded by Boki, had on board about two hundred and fifty men; the Becket, commanded by Manuia, had on board ten foreigners, one hundred soldiers, twenty native seamen, forty other men attached to governor Boki, the captain's wife and seven attendants; in all 179, total 429. . . .

"The two vessels touched and refreshed at Rutuma, (the northmost of the Fiji Islands) an island within ten days' sail of the New Hebrides, their destination. The Kamehameha remained four days and proceeded first. The Becket remained some ten days and taking on board 47 Rutumans followed and reached Eremango (one of the New Hebrides), but Boki and his company could not be found. A mast was seen, which was conjectured to have belonged to the Kamehameha. From the quantity of powder on board her, the frequent and careless use of fire in smoking tobacco, the crowded and confused state of the vessel, she may have been blown up and foundered, and the whole company of 250 men perished together in the ocean. . . ."[25]

Perhaps they did perish in the ocean. However, considering the determination of Boki not to come back to Hawaii, his precaution not to take any white men on his vessel, whilst he put ten of them on the Becket, his haste to leave Rotuma long before the sister ship could be ready to sail; all this may indicate that the Hawaiian chief intended to emigrate and that the getting of sandalwood was but a pretext.

One of the numerous Sawaiori settlements among the Papuans may yet be proven to have descended from the enterprising crew of the Kamehameha.

The Becket returned to Honolulu, where she arrived August 3d, 1830, with only twelve natives and eight foreigners, the rest having been carried off by a mortal sickness.

The Reverend Mr. Bingham seems to have been rather satisfied with the total failure of the expedition, "for," says he, "the successful return of that whole company might have made a strong and dangerous faction."[26]

An episode which throws a strong light on certain Hawaiian characteristics, is narrated by Father Bachelot in a relation dated December 18, 1834.

"In 1831, after the overthrow of the faction of Liliha, a native from a district situated some six miles from Honolulu, arrived in great haste, and went straight to Liliha's place. He informed her that several vessels well armed with cannons had come at anchor in a little bay. A man with a strong escort had come ashore in a boat, and going to the house of the chief had asked for provisions for himself and for

24 Stewart, op. cit. pp. 363, 364.
24a Hotel Blonde, according to Gorham D. Gilman, in Haw. Annual, 1904, p. 76, on ewa-mauka corner of Nuuanu and King streets.
25 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 361, 362.
26 Loco citato.

his companions. This man was Boki. He ordered that a profound silence should be kept about his return till his partizans could be informed.

"The messenger was questioned by Liliha and many others; all remained persuaded of the truth of this story, which created an immense emotion in town. The king forgot his dignity out of joy. Messengers and schooners were sent at once to verify the statements of the native. They returned disappointed: nobody on the spot knew anything about the arrival of Boki and the foreign man-of-war. The messenger of this startling report had simply taken a dream for the reality, a thing very common to Hawaiians.

The man who had been the cause of this commotion was publicly whipped at the carttail for his trouble."[27]

At the time of Boki's departure, Kaahumanu was on Kauai. When she returned from her trip, she rejoiced in realizing that Kapiolani's prophecy had materialized: "THE CAPTIVITY OF HAWAII WAS AT AN END." There was no Boki any longer to restrain her persecuting proclivities. At once orders were given to prevent the natives from attending the Catholic services; the chapel was invaded and the neophytes driven away.

Louisa, (Luika Kaunaka) whom we have previously mentioned, was one of the principal victims of the persecution. She was thrown into prison, but a chief of Boki's party obtained her release. Probably by the orders of Kaahumanu, she was immediately afterwards again arrested in company with her uncle, Valeriano Hinapapa, and Kimeone Pale. They were conducted before the assembly of the chiefs and asked many questions, whilst blows were made to rain upon them during the entire interrogatory. Very likely no determined course of persecution had been decided upon yet by the good Queen Kaahumanu, and so, when the bastinado proved ineffective to make these confessors perceive the connection between the Bible and Protestantism, they were allowed to go free.

Rev. Mr. Bingham thought of gaining Luika by more peaceful proceedings and paid her a visit in her grass hut. After some discussion she asked him repeatedly if his own ancestors had not been Catholics. He prudently abstained from answering this question, but having gotten sight of a crucifix, he began to discuss the worship of images, and wound up by promising Luika a selected spot in the place where brimstone and fire abound.[28]

The second day of January, 1830, the persecution revived with greater vehemence. A Catholic woman, Pulcheria by name, had been put into the fort, where she remained two days, without getting anything to eat. The third day, tired of the importunities and threats of the chiefs and Protestant catechists, who did not cease terrifying her, and moreover fearing that she would be forcibly dragged to the Calvinist prayer-meeting, she succeeded in making her escape. It was on a Sunday morning, very early. When the flight was detected, the guards expected to find her in the priest's house. And there, indeed, she had been together with her husband, to hear an early Mass at 4 o'clock; but when the pursuers arrived, she had gone. However, other worshipers were then at prayer in the chapel, assisting at Father Bachelot's Mass. Seeing them, the agents of Kaahumanu became greatly excited and violently drove them out of the chapel from the premises.[29]

Father Bachelot thought that these violent proceedings, especially within the precincts of a foreigner and in a place consecrated to divine worship, would not be approved of by the Queen-Regent, however much opposed she

27 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 76.
28 Annales de la Propag. de la Foi, VI, pp. 95 et seq., and Supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror, 1840, pp. 13 et seq.
29 Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, VI, pp. 96 et seq.; and Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 454.

might be to the Catholic religion. He consequently called on her the ensuing day and complained about the violation of his domicile. But far from giving him satisfaction, Kaahumanu forbade him any more to teach the Catholic religion, to which the Prefect Apostolic firmly answered that he could not refuse instruction in the only true religion to those who asked for it.[30]

In a letter written by Father Bachelot on board the Clémentine, June 14, 1837, to the English consul, Richard Charlton, he states that in December, 1830, Kaahumanu ratified the permission given by Boki to reside in the Islands, but restricting it to the extent that the priests should exercise their ministry in their own house, with liberty to foreigners but prohibition to natives to assist.[31] He must be mistaken as to the date, for in December, 1830, Kaahumanu was on her tour of Hawaii and Maui, from which she returned to Honolulu only about the end of March, 1831.[32]

The same day (Jan. 3, 1830) an order was promulgated that all Catholics had to appear before the king on January the 5th. A great many of them refused to comply with the order; others obeyed. The principal chiefs surrounded the young King and the regent at the appointed time. They first questioned a woman who was considered to be one of the leading Catholics. She held out for some time, notwithstanding the importunities of the Queen and the chiefs. But when the King who had been silent till then, declared himself opposed to the Catholic faith, the unfortunate woman gave way and promised all they wanted. Four other women and one man also apostatized, promising henceforth to attend the meetings of the Calvinists. The rest of the faithfull remained silent, although a few more women fell away on that occasion. The first one who had given the example of apostasy, fell into a kind of despair, which almost culminated in insanity. Execrated by the faithful she became an object of contempt to the rest of the natives as well.[34] It does not appear that these renegades ever came back to the fold, except for the man, Keawahine, who soon repented and expiated his faith by a severe penance and an unshaken firmness.

He was then about 40 years of age and had been instructed in the Catholic religion by Luika. He had been baptized receiving the name of Akeroniko, on the 5th of April of the preceding year, together with 28 other catechumens.[35] Endowed with a sound judgment and good memory, he proved an excellent catechist. A momentary fear made him commit an act of apostasy which in his heart he detested. He never went to the prayer meetings of the Protestants, nor communicated with their teachers.

Kimeone Paele, to whom Akeroniko had served as godfather after having instructed him, remonstrated with him after the assembly saying; "If you have fallen, you who are my father and the father of many others, what shall your children do? Listen! It is your duty to teach me, but since you have failed, the son will now instruct the father, and this I say to you: Go back to the truth and abandon error!"

This reproach added to the remorse which already filled his soul with anguish and threw him into an utter dejection. Most of the time he roamed through the fields, always fearing that they would come and force him to attend the services of the heretics. Principally on Sundays he fled from society for this reason. Shame withheld him from visiting the priests who would fain have reanimated his

30 Notes of F. Bachelot, 22 Aug., 1831, AM. H.
31 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 35, p. 2, Cf. notes of F. Bachelot, Aug. 22, 1831.
32 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 372, 396.
33 From his notes, dated Aug. 22, 1831, it appears that the conversation in question took place at the occasion above mentioned, in the beginning of January, 1830.
34 Annales Prop. Foi, VI, pp. 97, 98. Notes, Bachelot, Aug. 22, 1831.
35 Baptism Records, Honolulu, Book 1st.

spirits. He condemned himself to silence in order to expiate the fault his tongue had committed. For over a year he did not speak unless to impart religious instruction to those who applied for it, and to say his prayers in common with his relatives. Although persevering in his self-imposed penance, his natural tranquillity and cheerfulness gradually returned. His persecutors well knew that only out of fear he had yielded to their importunities. They therefore urged him to fulfill his promise and to attend their meetings. At his emphatic refusal he was sent to jail, but soon released on the remark of a chief that he had done nothing deserving punishment. But in the year of Our Lord 1830, justice and common sense did not rule in Hawaii, but Kaahumanu. Akeroniko was again arrested and ironed like a malefactor. Joyfully he showed his shackles, saying: "Thus Our Lord Jesus Christ has been fettered for us." He thus endeavored to encourage other Catholics that were in prison with him. Prohibition was made against passing them any victuals which outsiders might bring for them. The chief in charge of the prisoners took care to furnish their meals, but Akeroniko absolutely refused to partake of the food sent by him, only drinking water from the well that was in the prison enclosure. It was said that he remained eight days without eating anything. At that time some of the guards pitied him, and allowed him after darkness secretly to leave the fort, without taking off the chains with which his hands and feet were fettered.

Luika's house was opposite the prison; there he went to take a frugal meal and immediately went back to his place of imprisonment. Since the chiefs and the public had no knowledge of these nightly escapes, the rumor went abroad that he had passed a month without eating. Later on he explained to the Prefect Apostolic why he thus refused to accept the food offered him. "Had I taken the food offered me in the name of the chief, I would thereby have become a member of his household. Being his, he could have done with me according to his pleasure, and he might have made me abjure my faith. I would rather die than to expose myself to this danger."

Akeroniko remained in prison until April, 1831, when, profiting by the anarchy then prevailing on account of Liliha's sedition, he regained his liberty, only to be again condemned to hard labor for the crime of Popery a few months later.[36]

At the beginning of Lent (Febr. 24) the majority of the faithful espied some favorable occasion to visit the Fathers in order to fulfill their Easter duties. They thus got over their first dismay and gathered strength for new trials which Kaahumanu had in store for them.[37]

This worthy lady had all the energy and ambition of the First Kamehameha, the greatest of her numerous "husbands." Like him she would suffer neither master nor equal. As long as Boki was governor of Oahu, she felt continually handicapped. However, as month after month passed since his departure, she felt more and more relieved and thought that henceforward she could have everything her own way. Consequently she told Boki's followers that they were no longer needed. But Boki's wife, Liliha, who had remained governess in his place, refused to be deposed, and kept her partizans in the offices they had been entrusted with by her husband, protesting that they would not resign their charges, except to him from whom they had received them.

Kaahumanu then resolved to convoke a council of her own adherents for the purpose of deciding on a scheme to crush the party of opposition. Oahu was

36 Relation by Father Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 46 et seq.
37 Annales Prop. Foi, VI, p. 99.

not judged a proper place for such a gathering, since Liliha's faction was powerful. With this end in view, she undertook a tour of the windward islands.[38]

A public meeting was called at Honolulu and one of the late king's wives, Kinau, whom Father Bachelot calls "our greatest enemy," associated with Liliha in the government of the island of Oahu. "Though yet inexperienced as a ruler," says Bingham, ". . . . for her attachment both to the regent and her royal son, she was deemed a suitable and able coadjutor, of great importance."[39] It was of course, of great importance to watch, annoy and check Liliha as much as possible.

"Previous to the departure of Kaahumanu, she went into the precincts of her old friend, Don Francisco de Paulo Marin, who had in the days of heathenism, united with her in wickedness and idolatry, one of the rites of which was the procession of the 'Akua Makahiki,' and finding a number of people called 'palani' who had little 'kii' (images of the Cross), asked them to give them up to her and not worship such things. She talked to them kindly, as if they had been their children. They gave her their trinkets, and she took a sort of pledge, that they would abandon the use of images, and the interview terminated pleasantly."[40]

Marin was not composed of the material out of which martyrs and confessors are made; he was attached to the faith of his ancestors, indeed, but he had never found the courage to bring a sacrifice to his conscience.

The "kind" old Queen probably also visited in a similar way Luika's humble cabin near the fort; but that poor native woman showed that she better appreciated the "Pearl of great price" than the degenerate Don. Hence, says Bingham, "Kaahumanu took her into her family, hoping to make her comfortable in her train; but finding her haughty and disrespectful, treated her with some severity, and after a little time dismissed her."[41]

Father Bachelot relates the incident in a somewhat different way. "They improved this occasion to send into banishment the virtuous Louisa, who had already before shown so much firmness. The Protestant minister, Bingham, could not forgive her her invincible perseverance in the Faith. He threatened her with the most severe punishments and even with death. Louisa was prepared for everything. She was sick when they forcibly embarked her, and she was left for five days without food." (An odd way, forsooth, to make a sick person comfortable.) "The vessel touched at Maui, where Louisa, unable to continue the voyage, was put ashore and entrusted to a bigoted Calvinist who left nothing untried to pervert her. Always faithful to God, she remained over nine months in this place of exile, from where she returned only the following year."[42]

The removal of the court to Hawaii afforded no respite to the Catholics of Oahu. Intoxicated with the recently acquired authority, Kinau at once ordered the imprisonment of eight neophytes. The chief who then was in charge of the fort, sympathizing with the prisoners, immediately set them at liberty, but they were again arrested and bound with fetters.[43]

Among the little flock that then professed the Catholic Faith, two men excelled in their zeal for the truth, Valeriano and Kimeone. The former, who was rather advanced in age, was a staunch supporter of the kingly house which had ruled over Oahu and Maui, the battles of which he had fought under four kings. Perhaps on account of this attachment he never joined the Protestant religion, the

38 Annales Prop. de la Foi, VI, p. 99.
39 Bingham, A Residence, p. 372.
40 Op. cit. p. 373.
41 A Residence, p. 373.
42 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VI, pp. 99, 100.
43 Ibidem.

ministers of which had so intimately identified themselves with the usurping Kamehameha dynasty. But as soon as he became acquainted with a little manuscript booklet, "Exposition of the Christian Doctrine," composed by Father Bachelot, he learned it by heart with a facility which was really remarkable in a man of his age. On June the 6th, 1829, he received baptism.

Kimeone Paele, a native of Waipio, Hawaii, and about 35 years of age, had, like Valeriano, never been friendly to the Boston missionaries, whose schools he refused to attend. Although he lived some twelve miles away from Honolulu, his avidity to learn the Catholic teaching was so great, that he frequently came to town to be instructed by the priests. What he had learnt by heart, he taught in his turn to his fellow villagers, and through his efforts a dozen among them soon knew as much as he himself. A few days after the arrest of the eight Christians above alluded to, a native whose wife was a Catholic, became seriously sick. Previously he had been instructed in the mysteries of the Faith by Kimeone, who now seeing him in danger of death, administered to him the Sacrament of Baptism. The neophyte died shortly afterwards. The catechist accompanied by some other Catholics went to the house of the deceased to pray over his body and conduct the funeral. Whilst they were praying, the Protestant teacher of the place came with the same intent. Kimeone claimed that the body of the defunct belonged to the Catholics, since he had died in their communion, and that consequently the teacher had no right to interfere with the interment. The latter, however, insisted, pretending that he had come by order of the chiefs. Hereupon Kimeone replied that in all that pertains to religion, we must obey God rather than the chiefs. He kept firm and the teacher was obliged to retire.[44] This incident added to the irritation of the persecutors.

Alokia, the 21 year old widow of the deceased, who even then had a child at the breast, Kimeone, Valeriano and seven other Catholics were seized upon and put into irons. They were made to appear before Kinau, who in vain tried to shake their constancy. Five natives who were not baptized and who were even unknown to the priests, asked to share their fetters. It was prohibited to give any food to the prisoners. The first three days vain efforts were made to send them some victuals; only on the fourth day Brother Melchior, who was working in the fort, succeeded in secretly handing them a taro. Although hunger-bitten themselves, they did not eat of it, but generously yielded the root to Alokia, who on account of her child was in more urgent need of food. The Brother tried to pass them more eatables, but without success, for he dared not give anything in presence of the guards, for fear of jeopardizing the whole mission. The next day, however, the chiefs winked at the smuggling of victuals into the fort; the confessors took great care to hide them and to eat them secretly.

Finally an end was put to their fast; they were next applied to hard labor; the men having to cut stones on the reef, the women to make a certain number of mats.

Alokia grew ill, as a consequence doubtless of the strain put upon her by the sickness and subsequent death of her husband, as well as of the ill treatment she had to endure. She was nevertheless compelled to go to the place designated for the performance of the work. She usually arrived there exhausted by fatigue and privations, but withal was given the appointed task, which, however, her companions charitably performed for her. Her health became more and more precarious, and one day her fellow prisoners had to carry her back to jail on their shoulders. They were met by some Catholics who had heard of their

44 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VI, pp. 100, 101.

coming and took over their burdens and the sick woman. Once back in Honolulu, they were again confined to the fort.[45]

The commandant of the fort belonged to the deposed dynasty, and, writes Father Bachelot, "was in secret friendly to us. Our Christians were well treated by him; however, Alokia declined visibly; they well saw that she would not live long. During the night one of our neophytes came to apprise me of her situation, and I betook me to the fort. The chief's followers had been notified of my coming and received me as affectionately as our Christians could have done. As a fact, many of them were then being instructed in our religion, and the chief was cognizant of the fact. Later they used to perform the same devotional exercises as our Christians. They did not attend either the Protestant schools or prayer-meetings. Aia, the chief, always defended them from the evil treatment which they exposed themselves to on this account.

"As soon as I entered Alokia's hut, everybody went outside. I heard her confession and having recalled the Catholics, gave her Extreme Unction. After this I allowed the others to come in. I improved the occasion by giving them a short instruction, which I terminated with some prayer in which all joined. A few days afterwards it pleased Our Lord to call Alokia to her reward. Her baby was adopted by a Catholic woman."[46]

May this Holy Martyr who laid down her life for the Faith, obtain for all her countrymen the grace to embrace it and to practice it with the same generosity and firmness!

The other prisoners remained yet for about four or five months in confinement.

On the 3d of August, the Becket, with the handful of survivors of the fatal expedition, arrived at Honolulu. Great was the grief of the population on realizing the extent of the disaster, which deprived them of a beloved chief and carried mourning into almost every family.

Boki's widow, Liliha, fearing that she now would lose her position as governess of Oahu, made warlike preparations, purchased arms and ammunition, put about a thousand men under arms, and placed the men of Waianae in the fort at Honolulu, choosing for her service those least friendly to Kaahumanu's policy, for the purpose, as was supposed, of resisting the authority of the Queen-regent, as Boki, her husband, had before attempted to do.

Kinau at once sent word to the chiefs of Lahaina: "He olelo kaua koonei. Ua paa ka pa i na kanaka o Waianae." (The people here are talking of war. The fort is occupied by the men of Waianae.) On hearing this news the chiefs dispatched Liliha's parent, Hoapili, to use his influence with his daughter, in order to prevent a civil war. Having arrived at Honolulu, Hoapili required his daughter to give up the fort to him. The governess yielded to her sire's demand; whereupon the chief took command of the fort, established a new garrison and quietly waited the arrival of the regent and the other chiefs, who arrived at Honolulu about the end of March, 1831.[47]

In the month of January of the same year a rumor had already spread around town that one of the principal measures adopted by the council at Lahaina, was the spoliation of the partizans of Boki and the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries,[48] The subsequent events showed that the report was well founded. At an assembly held April the 1st, 1831, all of Boki's and Liliha's adherents were discharged from their offices and their lands were confiscated. Kuakini, the then

45 Lithogr. Letters, I, pp. 60 et seq.—Ann. Prop. Foi. VI, pp. 101, 102.
46 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 61, 62.
47 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 405, 406.
48 Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, VI, p. 103.

governor of Hawaii, was appointed to the same dignity for Oahu, and the regency was confirmed to Kaahumanu.[49]

Having thus crushed the opposition, the good queen was now at leisure to take the proper measures for the realization of the second part of her program: the expulsion of the "Palani."

The progress realized by the mission during the year 1830 had been insignificant on account of the acute persecution. Only two young men: Paulo Kapahoanui, 32 years of age, and Kimeone Kalahipo, 28 years, had had the courage to embrace the Faith; whilst a dozen infants had also received the grace of baptism during that period.[50]

The priests, however, do not appear to have despaired of the future; for, during Kaahumanu's absence, they were, according to Bingham, "erecting or enlarging their buildings."[51]

49 Annales de la Prop. Foi, VI, pp. 103, 106; Bingham, A Residence, p. 407.
50 Baptism Records, Honolulu.
51 A Residence, p. 405.

CHAPTER VI.

The Expulsion

Before the Council of the Chiefs.—Decree of Banishment.—The Prefect's Speech.—Whether Permission to Reside Ever Had Been Granted or Not.—Visits of Kaikeoewa and Kuakini.—The Prinzessin Luiza.—Doings of Hill.—F. Bachelot's Apology.—The Brig Waverley.—Kalola.—The Waikiki Wall Confessors.—Captain Sumner.—Bingham, the Hawaiian Nathanael.—The Manifesto: "This Is Our Reason."—Consular Protests.—Religion, the Cause of Deportation.—Declarations of the Consuls.—The Forcible Embarkment.

On the 2d day of April, 1831, Fathers Bachelot and Short were summoned to the fort, there to appear before the assembly of the chiefs. The King being yet a minor and moreover absent, Kaahumanu presided. With her were the chiefs, both men and women, the *kumus,* or native teachers, and a multitude of foreigners and natives. A tent had been erected on the twenty feet thick walls of the fort, and there the nobles were squatting or lying down on mats, only Kaahumanu and her brother, Kuakini, having chairs.

When the priests entered, the Queen and her brother rose from their seats and graciously offered them to the newcomers. As soon as the Fathers were seated, Kaikeoewa, governor of the Island of Kauai, came forward and in a solemn manner but without uttering a word, delivered to the Prefect Apostolic a letter, which was dated January the 8th, 1831,[1] and must therefore have been composed at Kaawaloa in Kona, where by some sort of a revival, the rulers had been brought to a suitable pitch of religious frenzy.[2]

The content of this document was as follows:

"Where are you, priests who have come from France?

"This is our decree for your banishment. Begone from this land. Dwell not upon these Hawaiian Islands, for your doctrine is at variance with the religion which we profess. And because of your teaching your religion to the people of this land, some of us have turned to your sentiments. We are endeavoring to spread among the people the religion which we profess—this religion we plainly know to be the true. This is what we earnestly desire.

"When you arrived here, we did not invite you. But you came of your own accord. Therefore we send you away. Begone.

"We allow three months to prepare for your departure, and if within that time you shall not have gone, your effects will be confiscated, and you will go destitute; and if you wait until the fourth month, and we see you delaying, then, you will be imprisoned, and we shall do unto you, as do the Governments of all nations to those who disregard their commands. So will we constantly do to you."

(Signed)

KAUIKEAOULI,
KAAHUMANU,
KAIKEOEWA,
HOAPILI,
NAIHE,
KUAKINI.[3]

"I opened this letter," writes Father Bachelot, "and perused it slowly, thereby to gain time for reflection, that I might speak without excitement. All remained

1 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 9.
2 Cf. Bingham, A Residence, Ch. XVI.
3 Wyllie's Translation, Historical Summary, p. 273.

silent and held their eyes steadily on us, waiting till I should open my mouth to defend myself. I confess that although having been prepared for this, I felt the need of God's help, and prayed that according to His promise He might deign to inspire me what to say. We could not consent to abandon our mission. Promising to leave the Islands would have been equivalent to renouncing it. With our natives, one "Yes" is equal to the deed, and has more force than all other equivalent acts. We had never obtained a *formal* permission to remain in the Islands. Although the young prince and the chiefs had shown us much kindness, the King even having expressed his desire to learn the French language, the permission to remain had always been wanting. It had not even entered my mind to ask for it, until it had become impossible to obtain it. . . . In my answer I did not think it proper to assume the tone of an accused, but rather of an accuser. Therefore showing myself indignant, and glancing over the assembly, I asked the King's governor (Kaikeoewa) if he were not ashamed to make use of the term "kipaku," which corresponds to the French word "Canaille."[4]

" . . . . You would not thus speak to a fornicator, a thief, or a murderer. Have I deserved any of these reproaches? Where is your urbanity? People say you are enlightened men. Are these the expressions of enlightened men? I noticed that they keenly felt these reproaches, for they like very much to pass for well-bred people. Hence I urged my point, till they should offer me an opportunity of entering into a discussion on matters of Faith. All the time I kept in my hand the letter from the King they had given me. The chief of Hawaii, the old Queen's brother, cleverly stole near unto me and snatched the letter away. I was very sorry that they had taken the letter from me, for it could serve against our persecutors. The chiefs well understood this, and they seemed to be ashamed of having given it. I tried therefore in vain to get it back. Why, I asked of Kuakini, why do not you give me this letter back? The King sends it to me; you have no right to keep it. 'Give me your word,' he coolly answered, 'that you will leave the islands, and I shall give it to you.'

"Being unwilling to do that much, I abstained from further mentioning the matter, and again began upbraiding them on account of their having used the term 'kipaku.' 'Do not speak of that any more,' said one of the chiefs, 'all we ask you is to leave the islands amicably.' What? I replied, you wish me to depart as a friend and you drive me away against my will? What are your reasons? You say that my religion is not good. But not knowing it, how can you condemn it? Here I took occasion to reproach them for their ignorance and their obstinacy, because they had never been willing to listen to us. Then taking up the threat of pillage and imprisonment the letter contained, I said to the principal chief: 'Do you not know then that I am not of this world? I belong to God and all I have is His. I have come here possessing only my body and the Word of God which I wished to give you. You would not accept it. For all the rest I do not fear depredation; if you wish to take my goods from my house, go and get them; these things are of the world. . . . Neither do I fear your gyves. Put me into jail. God who sees and hears us, will be there with me. Moreover, what is the use of taking so much care of the body? Do you not know that it is but a heap of earth which tomorrow will be reduced into dust? Perhaps you and I will die before tomorrow. How then should I fear you?' "

4 Lettres Lithographiees, I. p. 10.—This upbraiding was unjust, for "kipaku" never has the meaning Father Bachelot is made here to attach to it. It is a verb meaning "to expel," or "to turn out of a place." However, it appears to be a gloss of a copyist, for in his "Notes," which are but another redaction of the same letter, F. Bachelot says that they used "the offensive words, which they make use of to expel somebody," and does not mention the term "canaille." AMH. No. 19.

Kuakini then said that the priests had established themselves in the Islands without leave, and at Father Bachelot's reply that they had been authorized by Governor Boki, the new governor rejoined that Boki was dead and that all he had done, was considered null and void.[6]

It is perhaps impossible to settle the question whether or not the Catholic priests had obtained permission to reside in Hawaii. The question has been discussed by Messrs. Perrin and Wyllie in the former's Historical Memorandum, where he asks: "What was the state of Hawaiian legislation in regard to foreigners at the moment when the Catholic Mission presented itself? And he answers: "Usage required that strangers to remain in the country, should obtain the authorization of the Government or governing chiefs of the Islands, then almost sovereign."

Mr. Wyllie hereby annotates:[20] A very correct answer to that question will be found in the words of Mr. Bachelot, pages 266 and 288, vol. IV, Annals of the Faith. At page 286 he records how the natives understood the gifts of lands and the indefeasible rights of the King.

This is what Father Bachelot says on p. 286: "They (the Hawaiians) look on the King as on their father; also the will of the Prince is the only and sovereign law. The King alone is owner. He has to provide the needs of the family, either by himself or through the chiefs, or by giving them lands for cultivation. The chiefs themselves receive land from him. He is the exclusive heir of every one: however, he never makes use of this right, unless he has reasons for being dissatisfied either with the deceased or his family. The one who receives lands from the King becomes as their lord. The houses standing thereupon as well as the people who dwell therein become his, at least as long as they remain there, for they are free to go and establish themselves on some other land, and then they come under the dependence of the new landlord. . . . The lord had a right to exact certain fines from those that live on his land, to put certain conditions to their residence, and to subject them to certain contributions in forced labor. His right is much restricted by usage."

On p. 288: "One word of a chief has more effect than all possible codes of law. Till now it is the only law the Hawaiians like and understand."

Rev. C. S. Stewart (Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, New York, 1828, p. 98), has the following:

"The governors of islands and chiefs of districts are entitled by their office to an exercise of all the prerogatives of royalty in their respective limits. They each, like the King, have their annual tribute from the people; and like him, hold the lives and the property of all under them at caprice."

And Blackman, p. 157, of "The Making of Hawaii": "The principal of reversion of lands to the King at the death of the tenant being replaced by that of succession in his family, though without ownership—a principle affirmed by Kamehameha I, unsuccessfully opposed by Kamehameha II (died June 14, 1824) and reaffirmed by the chiefs after his death at the suggestion of the Regent Kalanimoku and Lord Byron." (June 6, 1825.)

No *formal* authorization to reside in the Islands was ever granted to Fathers Bachelot and Short; the Prefect Apostolic expressly states so. But on the other hand he claims an equivalent authorization from Governor Boki.

It is true that the Regent Kaahumanu opposed the staying of the Catholic priests. Did this often declared veto on their residence invalidate the acts of the Governor of Oahu?

The relations between a regent and a governor were perhaps not clearly defined, the office of governor being one recently created by Kamehameha I.

In regard to this Mr. Bingham says (A Residence, p. 147): "It must be confessed that the government of the Sandwich Islands was not easily definable or made intelligible to a stranger at that period (1821), if, indeed, it was fully understood by the people themselves."

It would appear that Kaahumanu herself granted a virtual permission to stay when she forbade the priests to teach the natives, but allowed them to minister to the spiritual wants of foreigners.[7]

The Prefect Apostolic then once more urged the point that the chiefs ought not to have condemned the Catholic religion without knowing it, whereat Kua-

6 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 9-11.
7 Cf. Chapter V, p. 54 of this volume. (Quot. 31.)

kini replied: "Perhaps you are right, but you are a stranger; our teacher (meaning Rev. Mr. Bingham) is likewise a stranger; both of you must know what is right, better than we. He came first and taught us his religion; and we found it good and adopted it. If you had arrived first, we should have listened to you with the same docility, but you came last, and it is not good that there should be two religions, for this would soon result in war."

Father Bachelot answered that the question was not to know who came first, but who taught the truth; he then dwelt upon the separation of the Protestants from the Church, on the Catholic doctrine of the honoring of the Saints and their images, which, said he, was not like what the Protestant teachers made them believe.

When the missionary ceased speaking, some of the chiefs and principally a certain chiefess, insisted on obtaining from the priests a promise to leave; but they avoided binding themselves, saying that, not knowing the future, they could not promise to do what perhaps would be impossible to fulfill. This refusal of the priests to comply with the wishes of the council created a great commotion among the women; the male chiefs remained quiet, whilst the foreign element showed approval of the answers the missionaries made. When finally silence prevailed, the Fathers rose, and having made the customary salutations to the assembly, which all chiefs, except the Queen and a few women, returned in a friendly manner, they gravely withdrew.[8]

When the proceedings of the meeting became known, the proscripts received a great many visitors who came to express their sympathy. The afflux was so great that the priests, knowing the customs of the country, thought it prudent to protect their property against pillage. They therefore buried the church-ornaments and concealed the rest of their belongings as well as they could.

Here is the inventory of the riches which the priests thus carefully rescued from the rapacity of the natives: "They put on board the vessel La Comete some boxes of white mass-wine, two copes, two dalmatics, candlesticks for the altar in gilt copper, an altar cross, a processional cross, an ostensory, a censer with its boat, a holy water font, two candlesticks for the acolytes—all this in silverplated copper—flowerpots with artificial flower-bouquets, a silverplated sanctuary lamp and some other objects. The Superior General had moreover given to each of the three priests a complete Mass-outfit." (Some chasubles, altar linens, chalice, ciborium, cross, candlesticks, altar-stone and altar-cards.)[9] They had, moreover, received "two very fine sets church ornaments and a chalice from the Californian Franciscan Fathers[10] who also had sent them two cows."

In the beginning of May, Kaikeoewa with several followers called at the Mission. Having dismissed his retinue, the governor, visibly embarrassed, disclosed the purpose of his visit, saying: "I come to speak about what you know well, and upon which we have agreed together."

"I understand," answered Father Bachelot, "you come to drive me out."

"Not that, we do not drive you out; but it is expedient that you go quietly back to your country."

"How is that? If you do not drive me away, why do you want me to go against my will? I have my disciples here; are they thieves, murderers or fornicators?"

"No, you are orderly and good, but it is better that you go."

Hereupon Father Bachelot repeated briefly what he had said at the assembly

8 Notes of F. Bachelot.
9 Manuscript "Memoires faisant suite aux Memoires de Mme. Gabrielle de la Barre," p. 501.
10 Letter of Short to Cummins, Nov. 30, 1831.

of the chiefs. Kaikeoewa did not answer, but having been shown around the premises, soon retired, taking leave with the utmost politeness. After some time he was urged to summon again the priests to depart; he refused blandly, saying that he did not wish to mix up in this affair any more.

Kuakini came in his place, and after some discussion about the different charges which had been brought forward against the Catholics, he said that he had been apprised that they had received lately considerable sums of money from France, and had consequently now the means to return to their native land.

The Prefect Apostolic replied that the rumors concerning the money they were said to have received were untrue, and that, if the chiefs wanted them to depart, they might look out for a vessel themselves, and pay the passage. Here the conversation ended.

That they might appear to yield somewhat to the instances of the rulers, whenever a vessel was about to sail, the priests applied in writing to the captain for a free passage. But, well knowing their intentions, and unwilling to be the executors of the odious decree of banishment, the masters of vessels constantly denied the request.[11]

On June the 24th, the Prussian merchant vessel "Prinzessin Luiza" arrived at Honolulu. Her commander, Capt. Wendt, brought from the King of Prussia presents and a friendly letter to the King of Hawaii, acknowledging the reception of a war-cloak from his Hawaiian Majesty, and recommending to his protection such of his subjects as might visit the Islands.

During the stay of this ship, Kuakini came to advise the Fathers that now there was an excellent opportunity of repatriating. "Here," he said, "is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land."

"You are right," answered Father Bachelot, "but who will pay my passage? I came here with nothing but my body and the Word of God; my heart has not been upon the things of this world; I have hoarded no money."

"Perhaps he will take you for nothing."

"It is possible, but take the necessary steps yourselves, and we shall see."

The governor retired with this answer.

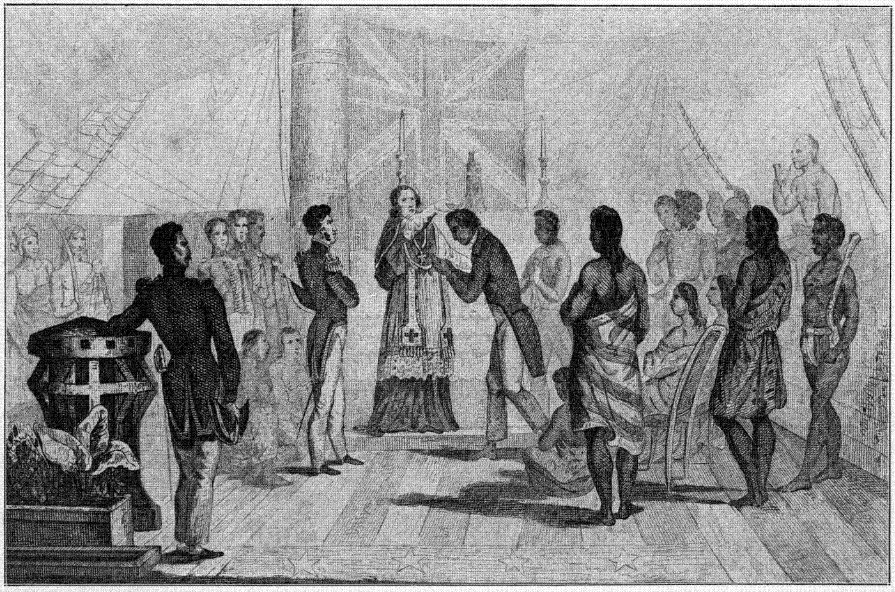
Shortly afterwards Capt. Wendt called on the priests and obligingly offered to receive them on board of his vessel, if they wished to depart; but if not, he told them to make an application to him in writing, and to dictate the answer which they wished him to make; which was done. When the Governor of Oahu went to see the Prussian captain, urging him to take charge of the missionaries, he answered that he would do it with pleasure, but that before the priests could come on board, he must be paid five thousand dollars.[12]

The chiefs were not in funds for the moment, and had to look for another opportunity to rid themselves of their unwelcome guests. On July 3d, the Prinzessin Luiza continued her voyage, and although the three months which the priests had been allowed for their departure had expired, they had artfully managed a delay of execution. The threat to confiscate their property in the event they should stay over three months was not carried out.

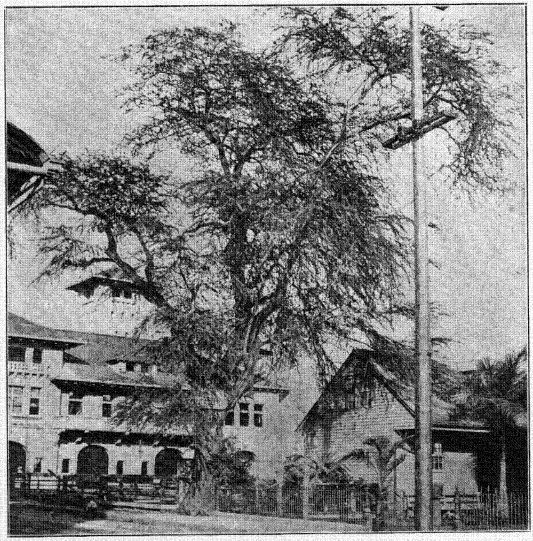
However, a new enemy had about this time entered the field against them. In the first days of June, an English gentleman by the name of Joshua Hill, arrived at Honolulu on board a whaling vessel, and took up his quarters at the British Consul's.

Formerly he had served his country in France, in the quality of a spy, and

11 Lettres Lithographiees, 1, pp. 11-15.
12 Bingham, A Residence, p. 417; Lettr. Lith. I, p. 15; Notes, p. 18.



BAPTISM OF KALANIMOKU ON BOARD L'URANIE, 1819



FATHER BACHELOT'S ALGAROBA TREE
Planted in 1828 from a seed taken from the Royal Gardens, Paris
This photo was taken about 1902

later on in South America as a secret agent to assist the Spanish colonies in their fight against the mother country. Afterwards he had been for some time captain of a small schooner, but not having made much fortune in these several occupations, had now turned missionary, and was visiting the Protestant South Sea missions as agent for the London Missionary Society.

During his stay in these Islands he passed for a Lord and an envoy of the King of England. He was consequently treated with much consideration.

At first he pretended not to favor one religious body more than the other, and spoke much about tolerance, saying that there was work for all. This at least was the trend of his conversations whenever he visited the Fathers. But elsewhere he spoke in a different strain. There he sustained that the Catholic priests would do well to leave, in order to remove all cause of disturbance and not to hinder the progress of the Gospel, which was materially hampered by the division between the preachers.

To the merchants who were by this time mostly in favor of the proscripts and who cared but little about the progress of the Gospel, the cunning politician held out another line of argument.

There were many islands in the Southern Pacific, inhabited by savages and frequented by merchant vessels, islands where the Gospel had not yet been preached. If the "Romanists" would only allow themselves to be taken over thither, they would find a free field for their activity, and at the same time open commercial possibilities full of promise to Hawaiian businessmen.

This specious sophism looked like sound argument to some of the foreigners, and finally Mr. Hill proposed the design to Father Short, who promised to talk it over with his superior.[13]

Mr. Hill's arguments have since been taken up by some non-Catholic authors. Dr. E. S. Goodhue[14] puts it in the following forcible way:

"The coming of the Catholics at this time was uncalled for, and unconsiderate. If they desired the conversion of the people from heathenism, if they wished nothing so much as the good of the Hawaiians, they should have thanked a common Father for the way the matter was being attended to by the missionaries already in the field. They could have turned their attention to some of the many other places then in need of their ministrations.

"Their mission to Hawaii was as useless as it would be to send a Baptist missionary to Africa to reconvert the Methodist Liberians."

Some extracts from a long letter Father Bachelot addressed to Mr. Hill in answer to this proposal, may perhaps not convince Protestant readers who are of one mind with Messrs. Hill and Goodhue, but will at least show them the Catholic position.

"None is more anxious than I to promote the true blessedness of this people, who have endeared themselves to us by their happy natural qualities. None desires more than I the progress of religion. What other motive, sir, could have made me abandon my family, friends, and all that was dear to me in France, to sequester myself in these islands, without further guarantee as to the necessities of life than the word of Him who feeds the birds of the air, arrays with splendor the lilies of the field, forbids his disciples to be solicitous for the needs of the body, and commands them what to do when they will be sent either directly by Himself or by his representatives on earth. . . . .

"As a reason why we ought to withdraw you put forward, sir, the maintenance of the peace in the Sandwich Islands. I desire it as much, and, if I may judge by their conduct, more than others. A true minister of religion is essentially a minister

13 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 16-17.
14 Beneath Hawaiian Palms and Stars, p. 133.

of peace. But certainly, sir, you are not of those who—that peace may be preserved—wish to leave men in the creeds they adhere to, whatever they may be. This would be closing the door to the propagation of the Gospel, which cannot take place without creating a schism between those that embrace the truth and those that persevere in their errors. Such was not the foundation of peace laid by Him who declared that He had come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. He has announced this conflict between truth and error, and to the Truth He has allotted persecutions for its portion in this world as its distinctive feature. Do not imagine, sir, that the diversity of religious denominations is incompatible with the peace you recommend. If any trouble is to be feared, we have elsewhere to look for its cause to study and to prevent it. It may be perhaps the lesion of some private interest, some one's feelings hurt, a sustained prejudice, a nourished animosity, a secret jealousy, in a word, any other cause which surely is not founded upon the Gospel, and is not in favor of the religion which indulges in it.

"Behold what must be eliminated, and where we ought to direct our blows. Avoid the invectives, the calumnies, the slanderous insinuations, especially when they become personal. Do not foster them even by silence. Let us avoid by approving by as little as a smile, those tales which are spread either by malice or by ignorance. Teach these poor people who listen with so much docility and whom it is so easy to persuade that violence makes hypocrites and no Christians.

"Then no trouble will have to be feared; the Truth can be spread quietly and peace will reign.[15]

". . . . . You say: 'We ought not to kick against the goad.' If by that goad, sir, you mean the prohibitions of men and their opposition, I will ask you with Peter and John, consider whether it is right to obey men rather than God, and whether the apostles and their successors, the evangelical laborers in China and elsewhere, have read in the Gospel that they ought to abandon the work of God because it was prohibited by the great ones of the earth, whom the low and poor have always preceded in their adhesion to the truth.

"If by this goad you mean the Spirit of God, I answer that we shall obey it, following the examples of our Fathers and models in the Faith; that without forgetting that we have to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove, we shall never listen to motives of purely human prudence; neither shall we forget that only the hireling flies when he sees the wolf coming, whilst the good shepherd gives his life for his sheep. . . . .

"You say: 'An immense field is open where we can exercise our zeal without conflict or opposition.' We know it, sir. But that is not the field which the Father of the family has ordered us to till. Evangelical laborers require a special *mission*. The very name of *missionary* tells it. To have a right to reform the work of God, it is not sufficient, like some make themselves believe, to take the Bible in one's hands. Neither can this essential and indispensable mission be imparted by some private individuals, nor even by certain societies, which have merely the right and power to provide for the temporary wants of the missioners. It is an ecclesiastical mission given by an authority, which itself has received it with power of delegating it which comes through an uninterrupted succession from the very Founder of the Church. The Apostle teaches the necessity of this mission which cannot be found except in the Catholic Church, because She alone can trace back her pedigree to the Founder. . . . .

"After this remark, you will understand, sir, that the choice of the field to be tilled is not entirely left to the whims of the evangelical laborer. The field for which he has received this essential mission, must be the only theater of his labors. He cannot change it at will, without going beyond the limits of his power and duty. . . ."[16]

Had the members of the Catholic Mission known at that time the true character of Mr. Hill, they would not have taken so much pains to convince him of the justice of their cause. But thinking him a special envoy of the King of England, of whom Father Short was a subject, they hoped that perhaps his report to the home-government might be instrumental in obtaining

15 Experience has since taught the correctness of the ideas Father Bachelot here expresses.
16 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 17-24.

the free exercise of the Catholic religion in these Islands, which then were yet considered as a sort of dependency of the British crown.

Not at all discouraged by this letter of the Prefect Apostolic, Mr. Hill made one more attempt to persuade him to repair to other islands in Polynesia. Calling on the priests toward the end of July, he said that having soon to depart for the Society Islands, he was willing to convey them to any island of the neighboring archipelagoes they might choose. Without further arguing with him, Father Bachelot curtly declined his offers, saying that since he was a French subject, nobody had a right to take him on board against his will, not even by order of the Hawaiian government, unless the vessel carried the flag of his nation, or of the country where he happened to be.

Mr. Hill left for the Southseas towards the end of August. He arrived at Pitcairn, where he tyrannized over the settlers, claiming to be a near relative to the Duke of Bedford, and under Government authority. His imposture was discovered when in 1837, an English vessel in command of Lord Edward Russel, son of the Duke of Bedford, visited the island. The following year, another British vessel called, the captain of which having a warrant for the arrest of the pseudo-lord, took him on board and removed him to Valparaiso.[17]

Hill had not succeeded in the plan the pursuance of which he seemed to have made his hobby during his stay in Hawaii; however he had done much harm to the Catholic priests by strengthening the idea of exiling them, and, when he saw that his pet scheme had failed, by advising the chiefs to embark the Fathers on a little Hawaiian brig which was then moored in the harbor. It was the Waverley, which Mr. Rives had made use of for his unlucky business trip on the Californian coast.

As the party in power grew more and more determined to expel the messengers of the pope, and began to see their way clear for the execution of their design, a marked movement towards the Catholic Faith became noticeable among the natives, and encouraged the missionaries to hold out as long as possible.

For some time the disgraced chieftains with their adherents had been drawing closer to the Catholics, considering probably, that having the same enemies, it would be well to stand united. Some of them applied to Kimeone and other catechists for instruction in the Catholic doctrine. Among them was Kalola, than whom few chiefs or chiefesses were more distinguished by birth in all Hawaii. She was a daughter of Kahekili, King of Maui, Oahu and Kauai, by his first wife, Kauwahine and a sister of Kalanikupule, last King of Oahu; she was also an aunt to Liliha, governor Boki's wife.[18] Although her brother, Kalanikupule, had been defeated and killed by Kamehameha I, his family had, however, kept much of its former influence, until Kaahumanu despoiled and disgraced them in the assembly of April the 1st.[19] In the battle which decided the fate of her royal house, Kalola, was severely wounded, and left for dead on the field. As they found her yet respiring, Kamehameha took care of her, and rendered her the honors due to her rank.[20] Kalola received baptism at the hands of Luika in December, 1832. She took sick in March, 1837, received the Last Sacraments from Father Walsh, and having been taken to Maui, died

17 Pitcairn; Extraits de l'anglais de Bayle Murray, Paris, 1853, p. 32 and follow.; see also Enc. Brit. 9th Edit. Vol. XIX, p. 132.
18 Forn. II, p. 261.
19 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 64.
20 F. Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 463.
21 Op. cit. pp. 64, 463.—Baptism Records, Honolulu, No. 187. Bingham, A Residence, p. 372; Fornander II, p. 261.

there May the 20th, aged 84 years.[21] She left a husband, Makaimoku, who was then but a young man—Father Walsh gives him 25 years—and who was baptized a Catholic on March 25, 1837.[22]

Before long it was remarked that a considerable number of natives did not attend the Protestant prayer meetings as they used to. This discovery naturally created a stir in the Calvinist camp, and the "kumus" or Protestant catechists became active.

In July twelve neophytes were successively arrested and asked to give an account of their beliefs. They answered that they had joined the Catholic religion, that they wished to persevere in it, and for it were willing to suffer any punishment which might be inflicted upon them.

Kaahumanu condemned them to hard labor. They had to build, each one, a wall 50 feet long by 6 feet high and 3 to 4 feet wide. Every one had personally to work at his task, and they were forbidden to help one another.

The wall had to be erected at Waikiki, which was then a dreary plain, some three miles to the East of the village of Honolulu. The ground was all covered with large stones frequently embedded in the soil, and the prisoners were to pick them up, having no tools of any kind to aid them. These confessors deserve to have their names recorded as on a roll of honor. Pelipe Mokuhou, 50 years of age; Kikime Kaihekauila, 28 years; Pakileo Luakini, 24 years; and Nanakea (Anania Nanauwahi?) 70 years; males; Kekilia Kakau, 50 years; Monika Ai, 50 years; Kaika Kapuloaokalani, 60 years; Amelia Uheke, 50 years; Akaka Kamoohula, 36 years; Helena Keehana, 50 years; and two other women; Ailimu, whose six-year-old child accompanied her in her imprisonment, and Mahaoi, who were still in the class of catechumens.

Ailimu received baptism after the departure of the missionaries, on December 15, 1833. Mahaoi allowed herself to be intimidated, and obtained her freedom by promising to join the Calvinists. Before the Fathers went into exile, she repented and asked for baptism; but Father Bachelot, not judging her sufficiently firm in the Faith, refused to admit her.

Kikime was blind, and he alone was allowed to work jointly with his mother, Monika Ai. Every day they had to erect an extent of wall between 70 and 80 feet long. The mother located the stones; following her directions the son dug them up with his fingers, and together they carried them to the appointed spot, there to pile them up. The first few days the prisoners had fetters upon their ankles and wrists, but these were taken off afterwards. They were but sparingly provided with food, and strict prohibition was made against bringing them eatables or otherwise having communication with them. Withal their relatives succeeded in procuring them enough food to keep them from starving. Moreover their night watchman, touched with compassion, allowed them sometimes to hunt for provisions during the night, and they profited by these opportunities to visit the priests. They always appeared blithe and contented, because, as they said, they suffered for God, and not for having committed any crime.[23]

One of these confessors for the Faith was Uheke or Esther, who in baptism was to receive the name of Amelia.[24] She was a Kauaian chiefess, and had in the April troubles been deprived of her estate. Before that time some of her retainers had secretly instructed her in the Catholic doctrine; but

22 Baptism Records, C. M. Honolulu, No. 234.
23 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VI, pp. 114 et seq.; Notes, pp. 24, 25.
24 Baptism Records, Dec. 12, 1831.

since she no longer dissimulated her belief, Father Bachelot had given her a manuscript "Exposition of the Christian Doctrine." One day, whilst studying it, she was arrested and conducted before a chief, who summoned her, henceforth to attend the Protestant services, threatening her with hard labor if she refused. The infliction of this punishment would be dishonoring in the eyes of her countrymen on account of her rank; she nevertheless embraced it rather than to deny her religion. She was consequently condemned to work on the Waikiki wall, and, by her constant cheerfulness and good example became the comfortress of her fellow convicts, as later on she was to be the cause of their deliverance.

About the middle of August, Aneroniko, who had escaped from the fort four months before, was again arrested and also made to join in the punishment with his correligionists.[25]

Meanwhile the plan suggested by Mr. Hill, to equip the Waverley for the deportation of the Catholic priests, had matured. It had taken some time to find her a master, for the native who was then in command of the vessel was unfamiliar with navigation on the high seas, and of the foreign captains none wanted to expose himself to the opprobrium of his countrymen by becoming the executor of the odious decree of banishment. Finally the chiefs addressed themselves to the former master of the Waverley, Captain Sumner, an Englishman, who was then, on account of his age, unemployed and in rather needy circumstances.

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other foreigners, he accepted the proposal of the chiefs, compelled as he was by the imperative necessity of providing for his family.[26]

Father Bachelot bore him no ill will for it, for he says in his defense; "I must say that the principal crime of that unfortunate man was his wish to gain a living and to procure nourishment for his children."[27]

On November the 5th, Capt. Sumner received a regular written commission framed in the following terms:

November 5th, 1831.

I, Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands, and Kaahumanu and Kuakini, Governor of Oahu, do hereby commission William Sumner, commander of the brig Waverley, now lying in Oahu, to receive on board two French gentlemen and their goods, or whatever they may bring on board, and to proceed on to California, and land them safe on shore, with everything belonging to them, where they may subsist, and then to return back to the Sandwich Islands.[28]

The priests were informed of their approaching deportation by public rumor, and knew that henceforth only a miracle could save them. But not having been officially notified, they quietly awaited further developments.[29]

Their faithful neophytes, who now for nearly five months had been expiating in the arid plains of Waikiki the dire crime of adhering to the Rock of Ages, had finished their tasks in the beginning of December. The third of that month a chief came to inquire if they were willing to embrace the doctrines of Calvin. On their refusal he sent them the Rev. Mr. Bingham, who came the same evening, and wanted to present them with some Protestant reading matter; but they declined having anything to do with him.

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25 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VI, p. 98; Notes, p. 25.
26 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 25, 26.
27 Ibidem, p. 29.
28 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 274.
29 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 30.

The reading of Mr. Bingham's description of his visit to these prisoners, may be a valuable contribution to the study of that gentleman's character, and prove whether or not he belonged to the tribe of Nathanael, "in whom is no guile."

"About the time, but before the papal priests were sent away, I called at a little cluster of huts, where I found several of their followers sojourned, being employed daily in building a stone fence between the dry plain and the plantations in the rear, along between Punchbowl Hill and Waikiki. Many hundreds of the people were, from time to time, called out to work on this wall, on which the chiefs labored with their own hands. But this was the ordinary mode of executing public works: the other was special, and though I saw and heard neither chains, whips, nor instruments of torture, it was regarded as *punishment*. This was the only instance of punishment which I ever saw inflicted on Hawaiian subjects who claimed to be papists. I asked Kaahumanu by what authority they were made to labor there. She said, "By the law against idolatry; for they have violated that law in renewing the worship of images."[30]

It is difficult to imagine that Mr. Bingham was so absorbed in spreading his sect by word and writing that he alone did not know what was going on for over a year in the fort and in the environs of Honolulu. His question to the Queen was evidently not in order to remonstrate with her in favor of the badly persecuted Christians; on the contrary, the sermon which he preached the next day,[31] and which he briefly relates on page 422 of his work, could under the circumstances have had no other effect than the one it really obtained: the Catholics were condemned to new and more severe punishments, from which they were to be delivered only about a year later by the combined and reiterated efforts of the reverend gentlemen who made up the fifth company of Protestant missionaries who arrived May 19, 1832, of the British Consul, and of Commodore Downes of the U. S. frigate Potomac.

On the 7th of December the government published a manifesto stating their reasons for forcibly ejecting the Catholic missionaries. This document is almost identically reported by Mr. Bingham and in the "Suppliment to the Sandwich Mirror;" I transcribe the former.

"This is our reason for sending away the *Palani*:—In the first place, the chiefs never assented to their dwelling at Oahu; and when they turned some of our people to stand opposed to us, then we said, 'Return to the country whence ye came.' At seven different times we gave them that order. And again, in speaking to them we said, 'Go away, ye *Palani*. We allow you three months to get ready.' But they did not go during the three months, but remained eight months, saying, 'We have no vessel to return in.' Therefore we put them on board our own vessel, to carry them to a place where the service is like their own. Because their doings are different from ours and because we cannot agree, therefore, we send away these man."[32]

Two days after the publication of this manifesto, Kinau's husband, Kekuanaoa, commander of the troops, called on the Fathers and abruptly announced to them their approaching departure. "You could not go away," said he, "because you

30 A Residence, p. 421.

31 The annotations to this sermon are of such a nature, and the attempt to control their truthfulness so baffled by the omission of references, that one feels tempted to believe, that the author was afflicted with "Cacoethes mentiendi" or "Pseudomania," an infirmity which according to medical authorities, makes the patient irresponsible for the non-observance of the commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

I have taken the trouble of reading twice all the notes to the "Rheimish Testament," and fail to find any the meaning or tendency of which it is, that "children ought not to spare their parents if they are heretics."

A note to Luke, XIV:26, "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother . . . . . he cannot be my disciple," runs as follows: The law of Christ does not allow us to hate even our enemies, much less our parents; but the meaning of the text is, that we must be in that disposition of the soul, as to be ready to renounce, and part with everything, how near and dear it may be to us, that would keep us from following Christ."

It is not to be presumed that Mr. Bingham objects to this doctrine: That we ought to love God above all things.

32 Bingham, A Residence, p. 419.

pretended to have no vessel; there is one now; the day I come back, both of you will depart." He feigned ignorance of their place of destination. However, from Captain Sumner the information was obtained that they were to be taken to California.[33]

Some time before, the American consul had written to the governor of California to learn if he were willing to receive the missionaries in his territory in case they should be deported, and answer had come, that they would be very welcome indeed. The Prefect of the Franciscan Fathers also wrote asking them not to think of looking for a retreat elsewhere, since, on account of the scarcity and advanced age of his priests, their arrival would be a boon and a relief to his own mission.[34]

Being thus equally assured of their deportation, and of the good reception which awaited them on the Coast, the Fathers put themselves in readiness for their voyage.

However, that they might not have any reason for self-reproach as having neglected any legitimate means to remain at their post of duty, Father Short being a British subject, applied for assistance to his consul. There being no representative of the French government in the Islands, Father Bachelot, at the suggestion of Mr. Charlton, addressed to him a similar protestation.[35]

Mr. Charlton having remonstrated with the Hawaiian Government in behalf of the two priests, Kaahumanu returned the following reply:

"Kind regards to you, British Consul. I make known to you in answer to your inquiries respecting the cause of complaint against these two men; it is on account of division and opposition, that I did not assent to these two men residing here. At first, I ordered them to return. I again ordered them away. They said, we have no vessel. Here is a vessel. I send them to another country. Do you be still. This business is ours, and that of my Protegee adopted. Our vessel shall not treat them ill, but convey them safely. Some time to come, then we may write to the King of Great Britain. Such are our wishes. I forward this letter to you, that you may consider these things, and not act in haste, that trouble come not hereafter.

KAUIKEAOULI,
KAAHUMANU."[36]

The priests had not expected any better results from the diplomatic interference of the Consul, who now took up Mr. Hill's proposition and insisted that the Fathers should rather establish themselves somewhere in the South Seas, mentioning among others Wallis Island. He and other merchants made much of the fertility and other advantages of those islands, and sent maps of the different groups that the missionaries might be guided in making a selection. They declined, however, taking this course.

Meantime the Waverley was being fitted out, and a part of the Island was put under contribution for her provisioning. Every day the priests now expected the return of Kekuanaoa to tell them that the moment for departing had come.

Night after night the faithful came to see their pastors in order to receive their last instructions. Even some of the prisoners under cover of the night, and favored by the heavy rains which are usual during that time of the year, managed to elude the vigilance of their sentinels, that they might prove their attachment to their spiritual fathers.

The door of the little chapel was left open during the night; for whenever the faithful came to visit the missionaries, they always paid first their homage

33 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 26.
34 Ibidem, p. 33.
35 F. Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 27.
36 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 274.

to the Most Blessed Sacrament. "Ke Akua ka mua" (God before all), they used to say.[37]

Although Captain Sumner had declared that he was going to remove the proscribed priests to the Californian coast, where they were sure to be favorably received, surmising the possibilities of being conducted to some other less friendly place, Father Bachelot, always prudent, asked the consul for a legal attestation stating the motive of their expulsion.

We shall reproduce these documents, which are chiefly interesting because of the formal declaration of the rulers, to which both the British and American consuls bear witness, that the exclusive cause of the deportation was their religion.

The king in his manifesto of December the 7th, stating the reasons why the two priests were sent into exile, had said: "They turned some of our people to stand opposed to us." Mr. Anderson, the secretary of the A. B. C. F. M., says[38] that this standing opposed to the chiefs is correctly understood, not of a mere difference of religious belief and practice, but of a seditious opposition to the government. He then wants to hold Messrs. Bachelot and Short responsible for the political disturbances at different times created by Boki and Liliha, and for the hostile feelings by the followers of these chiefs entertained against certain other chiefs. "The priests were either members of the conspiracy, or dupes and tools of the conspiracy."

The fact is that the priests took no part whatever in the internal dissensions which then occurred at the Sandwich Islands, and which had begun as early as 1819, immediately after Kamehameha the First's death,[39] or rather which had been going on for a few decades, chiefs of the same family fighting against one another, as it appears, for fighting's sake.[40]

The Fathers were without influence; up till the time of their expulsion they had baptized 180 persons, of whom only 35 were grown men; (apart from a few others who had received baptism on their death-bed); they were moreover too prudent and too conscientious to mix in political strife.

They probably sympathized with the Oahu chiefs, who on various occasions had shown themselves friendly. Since these chieftains held their offices rightfully, and did not oppose the king and dynasty, but merely the influence which Kaahumanu exercised at their cost, there was not a suggestion of sedition in wishing them success.

Neither did the Catholic natives stand in anything "opposed" to the ruling chiefs, except by refusing to attend the Protestant prayer meetings or to perform any other acts of apostasy.

If then Messrs. Bachelot and Short were banished for having exhorted their catechumens not to obey the chiefs in these purely spiritual matters, they were certainly expelled only because of their religion.

Some of the Catholics perhaps belonged to the party of Boki and Liliha; this seems to have been the case of Valeriano, "a staunch supporter of the kingly house that had ruled over Oahu and Maui." On joining the Catholic Church they were in no way obliged to forsake their allegiance to their political party, the less so, as the Kamehamehas were nothing but foreign usurpers.

37 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 29, 30.
38 Appendix to Report, 1841, p. 222.
39 Arago, Promenade autour du Monde, II, p. 172.
40 Alexander's Brief History, passim.—Kotzebue, A Voyage of Discovery, London, 1821, vol. I, p. 349, says: "Since the conquest of the island of Woahoo, by Tamaahamaah, the inhabitants are always disposed to insurrection, and seize every opportunity that offers."

Here follow the declarations of the two consuls:

Woahoo, Sandwich Islands,
December 23, 1831.

This is to certify that Mr. J. A. A. Bachelot and Mr. Patrick Short, who have resided on this Island ever since the year 1827 and who are now about to be sent away by the Chiefs, have during their residence here conducted themselves with the utmost propriety both towards Natives and Foreigners.

I do also declare that Kaahumanu the Queen Dowager and Regent of these Islands declared unto me that they had been guilty of no crime but was (*sic*) sent away because they were Roman Catholic's (*sic.*)

Richard Charlton
H. B. H. Consul.[41]

United States Consulate
Sandwich Islands.

To all whom this may come, Be it known, that I, John C. Jones, Consul for the United States at the Sandwich Islands, do publish and make known to the world that J. A. A. Bachelot and P. Short during a residence at the Sandwich Islands of four years, have ever and all times conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and decorum, obeying at all times the Laws and regulations of these Islands, leading quiet and peaceful lives, respected by all foreigners who have had the pleasure to be made acquainted with them.

They have been persecuted and driven by force from these Islands to seek an asylum they know not where merely because they were *Catholicks*, the King and Chiefs have publicly acknowledged, they have not a single charge to bring against them; that their conduct has been meritorious and praise worthy during their residence in their Islands, but because their Religion is Catholick, they have driven them from their shores.

Given under my hand and the
seal of this Consulate at Oahu this
Twenty fourth day of December, 1831.

L.S.

JOHN C. JONES
U. S. Consul.[42]

On the 23d of December a greater number of the curious than usual crowded around the entrance of the mission enclosure. The cause of this gathering was a petty chief followed by two handcarts. Upon entering the house he said that he was sent to get the trunks. Father Bachelot was just then reading. As the native disclosed the purpose of his visit, the Prefect Apostolic answered him: "If you have orders to carry them off, go and take them; there they are: as far as I am concerned, I do not give them up," and went on reading, seemingly not paying any further attention to his visitor, who having in vain insisted, got angry and left in disgust without carrying the baggage.

The following morning the Fathers celebrated Holy Mass, Brother Melchior and an old Spaniard by the name of Sobradello receiving Holy Communion. Outside of the fence the multitude gathered early in the morning. About 9 o'clock Kekuanaoa made his appearance and asked for admission. Brother Melchior opened the gate, after having obtained the assurance that the crowd should not be allowed to enter.

The chief gave orders to this effect to the people, and entered alone.

"Well," he said, "the time for departing has come."

"You want thus to expel us by force?"

"Yes," he replied, laying his hands on Father Bachelot's shoulder.

Taking their breviaries, hats and walking canes, the priests left their dwelling. The people climbed on the fences to see them pass. A small number seemed to rejoice; all the others looked rather dismayed.

41 Archives of Catholic Mission, Honolulu, V. D. 4.
42 Archives, Catholic Mission, Honolulu, V. D. 5.

Kekuanaoa began the march escorted by a soldier beating a drum. The priests followed, accompanied by a foreigner who, though a Protestant, had always shown himself thoroughly attached to them. Another chief came some ten steps behind, busy keeping the crowd at bay. On the way towards the harbor other foreign residents came to meet the exiles to express their sympathy and to bid them farewell.[43]

When the procession had arrived at the landing, Father Bachelot turned to the multitude, among whom he saw many of his consternated neophytes, and addressed them in a little speech, which a woman catechumen, Maria Leahi, later related as follows:

"It is not the chiefs of this country that wrong me; they are the victims of error and calumny. This is why they did not embrace the true religion. As for you, the mustard seed of the Gospel has been sown among you; I hope that it will bear fruits. Whilst you are without a priest, do not fail to pray, as I have taught you. Beware of eating the bread of sacrilege in partaking of the Lord's supper with the Calvinists."[44]

The Waverley was lying in the channel; a boat waited along Robinson's wharf and took the Fathers over to the brig. The baggage was yet at the Mission and would perhaps have been left there, had not the British Consul in a very forcible way impressed upon Kekuanaoa that if as little as a pin belonging to the priests remained ashore, trouble would be brewing for him.

As the Waverley waited the arrival of the baggage before making sail, the American consul sent his clerk on board with a letter excusing himself for not having come to take leave, on account of their precipitate removal. An Irish sea-captain from the Columbia River came also, presenting them with a cask of salmon, and stayed with them till the arrival of the trunks, which came about half an hour later.

Without further delay the anchor was weighed, the sails set and soon the harbor was cleared.[45]

Now, indeed, "the captivity of Hawaii was at an end."

After this chapter was written, new documents came to hand, which throw additional light on the question, who were ultimately responsible for the removal of Messrs. Bachelot and Short.

From a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, corresponding secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. written by Bingham on February 6, 1832, we cull the following:

"On the 5 of Nov. the mission families at this station (Honolulu) observed a season of fasting and prayer with special reference to that cause of solicitude which for four years had been increasing in our borders, the Jesuit Mission, and which we have besought the Lord to remove from us; if that would best promote His cause. On that day the king signed a commission authorizing William Sumner to transport on Board the king's Brig Waverly, "two French gentlemen" to the coast of California, with their baggage, &c."

On Febr. 16, 1832 Bingham writes to the Rev. Anderson, Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.: " . . . . In expressing your solicitude for our cause here and your fears that the Jesuits would give us more trouble, or does (sic) more injury than all the rest of the foreigners together, *you* made the inquiry *"can they not be removed?"* (italics are the author's). These pages must be my reply. They may find difficulty in landing in California, and may come back in the vessel. But we have heard that the Catholics there were ready to receive them. I will now in my turn ask you, whether the Christian *public* particularly in *America*, can be easily satisfied that the Chiefs have done right in removing them? and whether you think the cause of missions in general will suffer any injury in the estimation of intelligent

43 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 34 et seq.
44 Archives, C. M. Honolulu, M. 25.
45 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 35-36.

men of the world, in consequence of this measure, as ill timed, or injudicious, or intolerant, in your converts here, or as a violation of the rights of nations on the part of the native rulers under missionary instruction? We have looked on with solicitude for the ark. We have pitied the sufferers on both sides. It has been a sharp trial to Kaahumanu, & to us, and to all. Sometimes we have given it up as not agreeable to the will of Providence that they should be removed. We have said let Providence decide. We have preached & printed the pure word of God & made but plain inferences, have avoided hitherto a dispute. But had they remained, or should they return, we should not long avoid a battle. We know the truth can stand. The truth of God against the devices of men. We are weakness. In God there is strength. The Lord reigns. The ark is safe. But when any of the priests of the sanctuary abuse their office, and are in any way brought into suffering by our instrumentality, the feelings of awe are more becoming the place on which we stand, than those of exultation."

We have here the precious acknowledgment that the initiative for the sending away of the Catholic priests originated in the rooms of the A. B. C. F. M., and Bingham explicitly admits that they have been brought into suffering "by HIS INSTRUMENTALITY." His conscience seems rather troubled, and he seeks to quiet it by throwing the responsibility on his superior in Boston.

Those pangs of conscience came later. On the day after the departure of the Waverley, the exultation had the better of the awe, for says he in notes accompanying the letter to Anderson: "25th. Christmas Sabbath. I preached to a full house from the song of the heavenly host. "Glory to GOD in the highest—and on earth peace—good will towards men." Showed that the birth of a Saviour was a manifestation of divine benevolence to men—the means of establishing peace on earth, and of promoting the glory of GOD."

This good will towards men evidently did not include the "Jesuits", who, as it is well known, do not belong to the human race.

CHAPTER VII

In Exile

Landing on the California Coast.—Departure of the Waverley.—Kind Reception at San Gabriel.—Again Threatened with Banishment.—Hawaiian Visitors.—Death of Kaahumanu.—Kinau, "Our Greatest Enemy."— Visit of the Potomac.—Conference of Commodore Downes with the Chiefs.—Waikiki Prisoners Liberated.—The Prophetess Kahapuu.

The exiles gazed as long as possible at their abandoned neophytes, who, with the other natives, continued to throng the beach for a long time; at their little stone house where the lonely Brother Melchior remained to keep alive the embers of the Faith; at the gloomy, barren mountain range, the familiar details of which slowly vanished from their sight. Their hearts throbbed painfully; prayers for the perseverance of their dear converts choked in their throats; tears welled up in their eyes.

The wind was not favorable; only after several days was the land lost sight of, and three weeks passed before the mountains of California loomed in the distance.[1]

The Fathers had requested the captain to be conveyed either to Monterey, where they hoped to meet the governor, from whom they had received such a kind invitation, or to Santa Barbara, where they were also certain to find friends; but Sumner refused to put them ashore in any inhabited harbor, as he wished to avoid the paying of anchorage and other duties.[2]

On January 21st, 1832, they coasted along Santa Catalina Island and towards sunset dropped anchor in San Pedro Bay. An American who had secretly secured passage on the vessel, went ashore in order to notify a farmer, who lived about nine miles from the landing, of the arrival of the missionaries. From there a messenger was forthwith sent to the nearest village, which happened to be the Mission San Gabriel, situated at a distance of some thirty miles. The next day the farmer arrived and told the captain that the priests must not be put ashore before the authorities of the village had been notified and vehicles could be procured to carry the Fathers and their baggage. But Captain Sumner wanted to avoid the authorities. When the farmer requested him to be rowed back to the shore, the captain answered: "You will not go back except in company of the priests," and at the same time he ordered the baggage to be put into the boat. He then asked the Fathers for an attestation of the good treatment they had received during the voyage, that he might show it to Kaahumanu.[3] Father Bachelot gave him the following certificate:

"This is to certify that we the underwritten Catholic missionaries to the Sandwich Islands have been debarked with all our effects at a place called San Pedro, on the coast of California, and that we have been treated by Captain Sumner during our voyage with all the attention and interest we could have expected.

"22 January, 1832. **J. A. A. BACHELOT,**
P. SHORT."[4]

1 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 37.
2 Ibidem, p. 38.
3 Ibidem, pp. 39, 40.
4 Sumner's Journal, quoted in Sandwich Island Gazette, Nov. 24, 1838.

Sumner then proposed to send their baggage ashore first, that they afterwards might be more comfortable in the boat. But Father Short insisted that, since he wished to land them now, they wanted to go with their belongings. They went thus ashore and there the native boatmen carried the trunks out of reach of high tide.

As the farmer got ready to leave for San Gabriel in order to make arrangements for the transportation of the priests, having said that he could not be back before two days, Father Bachelot asked him, if in the meantime, they could not buy bread somewhere. The priests did not know that in those parts only rich people could afford to eat bread, whilst the diet of the poor consisted of meat and corncakes (tortillas). When the farmer answered: "Ah, Padre, we are poor people and do not eat bread;" it did not come to the mind of the exile that people too poor to eat bread could however have an abundance of other food, and so he contented himself with asking where they could get drinking water. The man answered that he was going to send a cowboy with milk and water.

"Now, look," said Father Bachelot to the ten-year-old boy of Captain Sumner, "look what your father does; he leaves me here in a desert where there is nothing to eat; he wants me to die."[5]

"I shall tell him to send you something," answered the child.

The farmer then gave the priests a little cake which was to have been his own provisions, and Sumner sent after some time two bottles of fresh water, which attempt at generosity made the missionaries smile even under their precarious circumstances. Towards evening two young cowboys came, bringing a bottle of water and a bottle of milk; they remained to pass the night in company with the Fathers. Two custom house officers had also come on the scene and inquired about the vessel's cargo. The prefect answered that the sole aim of the vessel was to bring them thither, but that the captain had manifested an intention to go and hunt for sea-otters, and also to take back a cargo of horses. One of the officers thereupon went down upon the beach and signaled to the Hawaiians who were fishing in two boats, at no great distance from the shore. But they took no heed. Having vainly tried for half an hour to attract the attention of the boatmen, the employee came back, and requested the priests to write a note to the alcalde of the village. Father Bachelot wrote a few lines on a loose sheet of paper, and gave it to the officers, who returned to their station.

When at daybreak, the exiles, after a sleepless night, looked at the sea, the vessel had disappeared. The Waverley had sailed for Santa Barbara, where the captain hoped to secure some cargo. On his arrival, he and his crew were arrested and the vessel searched. After an imprisonment of three days, they were released and returned to Oahu.

On the morning of the 24th of January, the farmer came back with a letter from the Padre, who therein expressed his satisfaction over their safe arrival, and notified them that a carriage and wagon would come to convey them and their belongings to the mission. The carriage arrived two hours later, and the farmer having offered to take care of the trunks, they at once started for San Gabriel. After passing the night in a rancho, nine miles from that place, they arrived the following morning at the Mission, where the joyful peals of

5 He appears not to have thought of the cask of salmon given them at Honolulu by the Irish captain, and which Sumner landed together with the trunks. "I sent their things ashore: 6 large boxes and a tierce of salmon." Sumner's Journal, quoted in Sandwich Island Gazette, Nov. 24, 1838.

the bells, the happy faces of the villagers and the welcome of the good old Padre told them that finally they had a home.[6]

Father Bachelot stayed at San Gabriel to help the good Padre (Bernardo Sanchez)[7] who had so kindly received them, and, when in 1833, death summoned him to his reward, remained with his successor. When in the following year, the Mexican government disestablished the Missions and confiscated their properties, the new Padre, vexed by the ceaseless annoyances of the Liberals, retired and left Father Bachelot alone in charge of more than two thousand souls scattered over a district which extended about 90 miles, the nearest missions being San Fernando to the northwest, and San Juan Capistran to the southeast.[8]

Father Short remained some time at San Gabriel; later we find him at the mission of San Juan Bautista, and in 1834 he started conjointedly with Mr. Wm. Edward Paty Hartnell a small college at the mission of San Carlos, Monterey. "This college," says Father Bachelot, "was the first ever established in California."[9] It was called Seminario de San José, and was located on the Rancho Alisal or Patricinio, east of Salinas. In 1836 this college had 13 collegiales.[10]

Whilst they were thus quietly working at the salvation of souls, each one in his own sphere, and without interfering in the confusing politics of that period, they were alarmed by a new decree of expulsion, issued this time, not by Calvinist Hawaiian chiefs, but by the nominal Catholics that then composed the Central government of Mexico. The pretext was that they had entered the country without authorization, and were moreover "Jesuits" and consequently—according to "liberal" ideas—dangerous to the state.[11]

They were getting ready once more to go into exile, when, probably on the remonstrances of the local authorities, countermanding orders were given; and since in 1835 the Conservatives again took the lead of affairs, they were thereafter left unmolested.

Father Bachelot had been frequently requested to come over to Valparaiso, where for some time past a procurator of the Mission was established; but he had constantly declined to do so, saying that in his present situation he had greater facilities for remaining in touch with the Sandwich Islands; Monterey and Santa Barbara being ports much frequented by vessels from those parts.[12]

One day in the latter part of the year 1832, as the Prefect Apostolic was reciting his office on the beach, he was not a little surprised when, in a man rushing up to him and falling weeping about his neck, he recognized his old catechist, Aneroniko.

Often before, Aneroniko and several other neophytes, both men and women, had made up their mind to leave their native country that somewhere abroad they might be free to practise the Holy Faith they had embraced.[13]

The priests had always dissuaded them for fear of the many dangers their faith and morals would be exposed to. When they had been sent into exile, Aneroniko, who was then a prisoner, resolved to make his escape and follow them to California. But as his plan became known, the other Catholics opposed

6 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 40-46.
7 Bancroft, History of California, III, p. 317.
8 Father Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 82.
9 Ibidem, p. 84.
10 Bancroft, History of California, III, pp. 318, 777.
11 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, p. 85.
12 Ibidem, p. 83.
13 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 49-50.

it, saying that his flight could not be concealed long from the chiefs, who might seek revenge on the remaining Christians, and even hold Brother Melchior responsible. For the moment the catechist acquiesced in their opinion; but when after Kaahumanu's death the prisoners were released, he again took up his design and embarked with a younger Christian for California. They landed at Monterey and stayed for some time with Father Short; from there they came by sea to San Gabriel, where they took the Prefect by surprise.

The latter had much desired to have some Hawaiians with him, the better to instruct them in the Faith, and to utilize their help for the finishing of some little manuscripts in the native tongue which he was then preparing.[13a]

The two neophytes were happy to meet their spiritual Fathers, but could not get used to surroundings so different from those in their islands. They returned to Honolulu soon afterwards, and there continued to give edification to their brethren.[14] Another visitor came later on, as we shall soon have occasion to mention.

Meantime the persecution of the Catholics had not ceased on Oahu with the removal of the priests. The little colony of converts still continued their arduous work on the Waikiki wall. Once, when one of them, Agatha Kamoohula, wished to leave her task a moment to answer a call of nature, a guard beat her so cruelly with a stick that it broke at the third blow. The poor woman suffered this unjust punishment without a word of protest, although she felt acute pain. Her back became swollen and she could not walk upright for some time.[15] A Protestant churchmember, who arrived on the spot shortly afterwards, upbraided the guard for his cruelty. His remonstrance seems to have had for effect that more liberty was left to the convicts, who absented themselves from their work sometimes for several days.[16]

In the month of March, Kaahumanu came to solicit them to attend the Protestant services. She insisted particularly with Esther, well knowing her influence upon the others; but all her importunities were in vain. Often the prisoners were in want of food and clothing. Brother Melchior did his best to meet their needs by sending them, besides food, linen, shirts, and pants, although he himself was not rich, for his daily wages were his only means of subsistence, and not unfrequently he was without work.[17]

On the 5th of June, 1832, died Queen Kaahumanu, the "kind friend and benefactress of the (Protestant) missionaries, the firm supporter of their cause."[18]

She had doubtless been one of the most resolute adversaries of the Catholic Religion in Hawaii, and never wavered for a moment from the course of persecution she had determined upon. However, even the victims of her ill-inspired zeal recognized the purity of her intentions.

Father Bachelot depicts her as follows: "Kaahumanu supports the Calvinists with all her power: she is a woman of much character, a friend of the general good and of order. As the Protestant missionaries have been the first ones to inveigh against the existing disorders, she is prejudiced in their favor; the unlimited docility she shows for them comes from the confidence they have succeeded in inspiring her with. She is under an illusion, but she means well. She has persecuted us because she has been unable to distinguish between truth

13a Ibidem, p. 51.
14 Ibidem, p. 52.
15 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XII, p. 241. Bro. Melchior's Journal, Dec. 28, 29, 1831, Feb. 3, 1832.
16 Bro. Melchior, Journal, Febr. 3, 1832.
17 Ibidem, p. 242; Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 455, 456.
18 Bingham, A Residence, p. 434.

and error; this much we can credit her for, even when taking into account the unfavorable reports some think to revile her with."[19] When dying, her last words were for Bingham,[20] who since her conversion (1825) had been her unquestionable oracle. A few days after the expulsion of the Fathers she herself declared to the catechist Luika that Bingham was the ONE person responsible for the different acts of intolerance which had taken place. Having summoned this native woman before her she asked: "Tell me your idea: I have driven away the priests of the Pope; I have banished you to Maui, from where you have come back without my permission; I have caused the disciples of your teachers to be put into prison. Is this right?"

"I do not know," answered Luika, "if all this is right, and if you have done well in sending away the priests of the Pope; because they were no idolaters."

"I did not banish them," replied the Queen. "Bingham did."

"Bingham told you to banish them," rejoined Luika, "but you listened to him and ordered that they should be taken away on a vessel: if you had been unwilling, you would have closed your ears to the reasoning of Bingham, and our Fathers would be tranquilly here yet, as they used to."

"Bingham is my light," said Kaahumanu, "he has advised me to do it." Here the conversation ended.[21]

Although Kauikeaouli was at that time 19 years of age (he was born about the year 1813)[21a] they declared him too young to sway the scepter alone, and by an arrangement of the queen-mother and himself, Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha the First by his concubine Kalakua, was proclaimed Kuhina-nui or premier.[22]

She had been herself a concubine of the last king Liholiho, her half-brother, and after having been the wife of one Kahalaia, who died shortly after their marriage, she was presently married to the chief Kekuanaoa. Father Bachelot calls her "our greatest enemy."[23]

In a public address to the people she declared her intention to pursue the policy and carry out the measures of Kaahumanu. Soon an occasion to do so presented itself.[24]

In the month of July the Catholic prisoners at Waikiki had finished their task, and their guardians asked them what they now thought to do.

"Since we are through with our work, we intend to go home," they said.

"In that case," replied one of their guards, "you will have first to reject the prayer, the GOD, and the idolatrous worship of the French."

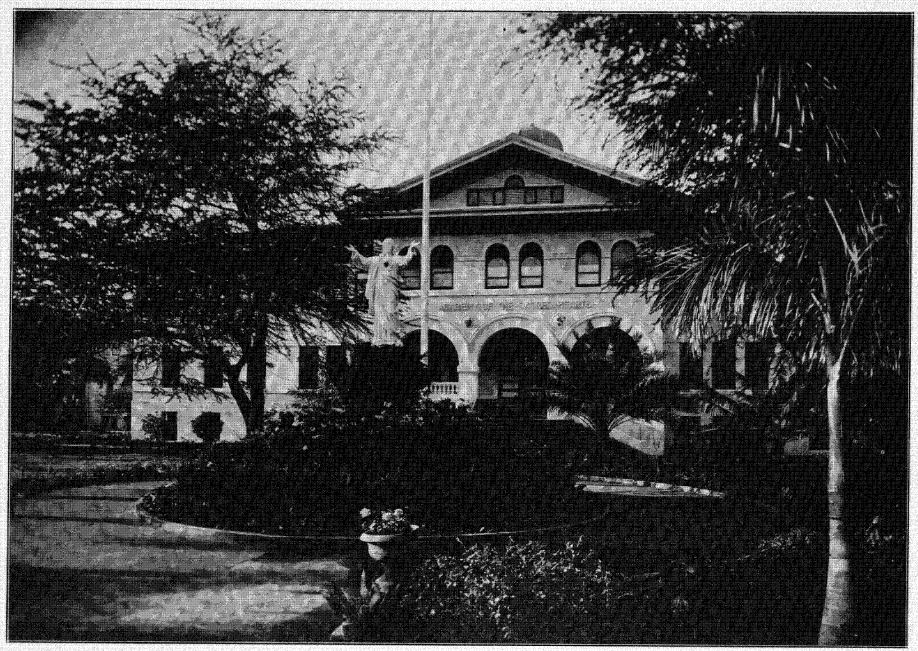
The prisoners, who had not been instructed by the priests about the existence of national gods, answered that they were determined to continue in the service of the Lord. On their refusal to forswear the Catholic Faith, the Waikiki confessors were told that they would be condemned to construct each five more fathoms of wall; the women, separated from their husbands and "put together with lewd women," would be employed in cutting bog-rush and in building mud

19 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, IV, p. 294.
20 Bingham, A Residence, p. 433.
21 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Jan. 2, 1832. Lettres Litho. I, p. 456.
21a Alexander gives August 11, 1813, Thrum (Annual 1875) indicates March, 1814, probably on the authority of the Rev. A. O. Forbes in Andrew's Dictionary. Early authors variously indicate the year of his birth between 1812 and 1816. Alexander probably calculated his date from the visit of the Uranie in August, 1819, Freycinet stating that the young prince was then six or seven years of age. March, 1814, has probably been adopted by the other authorities because in March, 1833, Kauikeaouli declared himself of age.
22 Bingham, A Residence, p. 436. He says: "by arrangement of his father." But the king's father, Kamehameha I, was dead since 1819.
23 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, X, p. 382.
24 Bingham, A Residence, p. 437.

Columbus Welfare Hall

Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace

Sacred Heart Sisters School at Honolulu



ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEARTS, KAIMUKI, HONOLULU

dikes in the swamps. The guards did not cease threatening and tormenting them, but could not in the least shake their constancy.[25]

On the 19th of July the British consul promised that he would intercede with the rulers in their favor, and soon an opportunity offered itself.

Four days later the U. S. frigate Potomac dropped her anchor in Honolulu roadsteads. The visit of this American vessel was far more agreeable to the rulers and members of the Protestant mission than had been that of her predecessor, the Dolphin, which in the early part of 1826 had caused so much unpleasantness that the people were accustomed to apply to this vessel and her commander interchangeably the appellation of the "mischief making man-of-war."

Commodore Downes of the Potomac and his officers had much friendly intercourse with all parties on shore. For about three weeks there was a continual exchange of courtesies between them and the chiefs and the mission family. Before they sailed the officers and crew contributed the sum of $200.00 to purchase a bell for the church, and $100 for the Orphan School.[26]

On August 15-16, a conference was held between the Commodore and the chiefs for the discussion of various topics; the case of the Catholic natives toiling on the stone wall of Kulaokahua for religion's sake was brought up. The prisoners were then again treated with greater severity, and suffered from a lack of food, as they were not allowed to communicate with their friends.[27] The kind commodore strongly upbraided the chiefs for thus persecuting men on account of their religious opinions and pleaded for their liberation.

We have two relations of this conference: the first written by Francis Warriner,[28] a literary gentleman on board the Potomac and a warm friend of the Protestant missionaries, at whose house he took up his residence during his stay at Honolulu; and the other by J. N. Reynolds.[29] This latter author was not an eye-witness of the events which marked the visit of the man-of-war to the Hawaiian Islands. He was at Valparaiso in October, 1832, when the Potomac arrived at that place, and there received an invitation from Captain Downes to join the Potomac as his private secretary. For the descriptions of the proceedings at Honolulu, Reynolds acknowledges his obligations to Lieutenant R. Pinkham and Acting-Lieutenant S. Gordon, who placed their notes in his hands, and to the private journal of the Commodore.

Here follows Warriner's account of the meeting:

"On Monday and Tuesday a council of the King and chiefs was held for the consideration of topics presented by the foreign residents through Commodore Downes. Mr. Bingham was present as interpreter. The following is the substance of what passed on the occasion.

"On the subject of religious freedom and touching the expulsion of the Jesuits, it was said that in the most enlightened countries all religions are tolerated, and that no person is banished for his religious opinions. It was however allowed that Roman Catholic countries, particularly Spain, Portugal, and Italy, do not hold to the principles of toleration. Mr. Bingham remarked that the Jesuits had been repeatedly expelled from European states. Another observed that it was for their interference with government, and that those who did interfere ought to be expelled; a remark intended as a reflection upon the supposed conduct of the missionaries resident at the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Bingham further remarked that the vow of the Jesuit of unqualified submission to a foreign prince, was supposed by intelligent men to be incompatible with the free institutions of America. This was granted.

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25 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 456-457.
26 Honolulu, Laura F. Judd, pp. 49, 50.
27 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Aug. 7, 17, 1832.
28 Cruise of the U. S. Frigate Potomac round the World during the Year 1831-34, New York; 1835.
29 Voyage of the U. S. Frigate Potomac, New York; 1835.

"Another remarked that the Jesuits were tolerated in America. Mr. Bingham said: "I presume they are." Commodore Downes did not approve of the punishment of any of the subjects of the King for the difference of opinion on religious matters. On this the King signified that it was not for entertaining different opinions, but for worshipping images, in violation of the laws of God, and in disobedience to his own orders. He might also have said that his royal brother and predecessor had prohibited image-worship, an event at which every Christian rejoiced. A complaint was next made that some of the islanders were subjected to a severer task than others, because they would not part with their images. This was a complaint against the government and not against the missionaries."[30]

"Mr. Bingham said that the chiefs had never consented to the Jesuits remaining on the Island as missionaries; that from their first landing the late Queen Kaahumanu insisted upon their return; that, about eight months previous to their departure, the King and the chiefs, as a body, ordered them positively to leave the country in three months, and that when they remained even eight months, saying they had no vessel in which to embark, Kaahumanu said that she would fit out one herself to carry them, and that intelligent men gave it as their opinion that she had had an undoubted right to do so. Possibly if the Jesuits had not been sent out of the country, they might have fomented a civil war in favor of the establishment of their own religion, as they have always been wont to do."[31]

Reynolds relates the proceedings as follows:

"In due time we sat down at a sumptuous repast of cold meats. No wine however was presented; for which deficiency the king took occasion to apologize in a whisper, saying that the missionaries did not like it.

"We mention this anecdote to give some idea of the influence which these pious laborers hold over the king and government, and which wisely exercised, may be greatly for their good."[32]

"Some time before the arrival of the Potomac, a few Spanish missionaries of the Catholic Faith came from the coast of California, with a view to establishing a school and church for the benefit of the heathen islanders.

" . . . . At the time of the Potomac's arrival at Oahu, some 40 natives, men, women and children, were confined at hard labour, on a coral wall which was then erecting of several miles in extent, and were not allowed to visit the town.

"One woman was seen, with an infant on her back, bearing large stones in her arms for building this wall! And this punishment was inflicted because they were Catholics, and would not change their religion for that of the missionaries of the Island. . . .

"At the conference previously alluded to between Commodore Downes and the authorities, this subject was introduced when the Commodore in a mild, though decisive tone, explained to the chiefs and Queen-Regent, that in England and in the United States and other countries, persons were not punished for their religious opinions; and that Catholic countries might not view with indifference such cruel treatment of Catholics; that a bitter spirit of persecution was not sanctioned in any enlightened country, and ought at once to be abolished.

"There were few present at this interesting conference who will soon forget the apparent reluctance with which Mr. Bingham, head of the mission, interpreted this liberal and truly Christian advice; and that, in apparent justification of the authorities, he instanced Spain as a country that would not admit of toleration.

"The Commodore's remarks seemed to break like new light upon the minds of the chiefs; and the release of the unhappy sufferers for conscience's sake followed immediately afterward."[33]

The Catholics, however, were not released immediately afterward. Whether or not any promise to this effect had been made to Commodore Downes, ten day after the conference they had not yet been liberated. On the contrary, on the 26th of August new efforts were made to make them renounce their religion. They were told by the guards that unless they at once embraced Protestantism,

30 Op. cit. p. 234.
31 Ibidem, pp. 235, 236.
32 Opere citato, p. 413.
33 Op. cit. p. 417.

their houses would be destroyed, their property confiscated and the women separated from their husbands.

When on the 1st of September the guards materialized a part of their menace by putting the prisoners at work, the men on one side and the women on the other side of the wall, Esther and the other women climbed over it and rejoined their husbands. Hereupon the guards wanted to put them into irons, but Esther boldly refused to let them do it, saying: "Henceforth we shall not submit anymore to any kind of punishment, until we shall have heard the Chief himself. Only when his voice shall reach our ears, then we will obey. But, as for you, we will not listen to you any more; bring us to the Chief."[34]

Confounded by this unusual but determined resistance, the petty chief in command of the prisoners, when every effort to make them go back to work had failed, took Esther, Philip, Helen, and a few others to town. In passing the house of the British consul, Esther stopped and said to the guards: "It is already a long time that you have kept us at work without so much as giving us anything to eat; this foreigner here is more kindly disposed than you; he will give us something; we are hungry and are going inside." The guards tried to prevent them from entering into the consul's yard, but that gentleman, attracted by the tumult of the scuffle, came hurriedly out of his house, and driving the guards off with a flood of abuse, took the prisoners under his protection, and hospitably lodged them for eight days. The guards went to bring their complaints before Kinau, but she refused to interfere in the matter. On September 11th, Mr. Charlton called on the King and chiefs, and obtained the liberation of all the prisoners that were then suffering for religion's sake. This ended the persecution *for the moment.*

Two of the prisoners, Ailimu and Pilipe, died within a few months after their liberation, "as a consequence of the ill-treatments they had been exposed to," says the afore quoted anonymous chronicler.[35]

From that time on the Catholics gathered frequently, principally on Sundays, in the house of Brother Melchior, the catechist; they there said the rosary and recited their lessons from the "Christian Doctrine." But not satisfied with thus being tolerated to practice their religion more or less secretly, some of them traveled around the Islands to propagate the good Seed of the Gospel. Valeriano was the most zealous of all. They made many converts; and so, here and there, little communities of Catholics formed, who united morning and night to say their prayers and study the catechism. Principally on Thursdays and Sundays they came together for the recitation of the rosary.[36]

About this time a new sect was started in Puna, Hawaii, which, although certainly not Catholic in its origin, nor in its practice, was destined in following years greatly to facilitate the introduction of Catholicism in the southeastern districts of the Big Island.

The foundress of this sect is even now considered by the natives as a prophetess inspired by God to deter her countrymen from embracing the Calvinist tenets, and to be a kind of forerunner of the Catholic priests. However providential her mission may have been, it can hardly be said to have been supernatural.

The "prophetess" Kahapuu was born at Kahaualea, Puna, Hawaii, about the year 1815. When she was 13 years of age she went to one of the country schools which the Protestant missionaries had established; there she learned to read and

34 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 459; Bro. Melchior's Journal, August 26, 29, 1832.
35 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 459, 460; Bro. Melchior's Journal, Sept. 2, 4, 12, 1832.
36 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 462, 463.

acquired rather jumbled notions of Christianity. Like many Hawaiians, she was of a hysterical disposition, subject to visions and trances. Once she advised her fosterparents that she was going to sleep and did not want to be disturbed for the next four days; which to try would be moreover useless, since her body would be invisible during that time. She thereupon fell into a trance, in which her spirit was taken to a place in the upper regions of the air, there to be taught "prayer and all the things concerning Jehovah and Jesus." Having come back to her senses, she began to communicate the heavenly wisdom thus obtained to her relatives and all others who wanted to listen to her, curing them at the same time of their diseases. The new prophetess' fame spread rapidly abroad, and people came from the district of Kau and Kona to be initiated in her teachings.

But Hapuuism in Puna was not to be tolerated any more than Catholicism at Honolulu. Two natives arrested the young seeress and dragged her to Hilo where she was examined by a chief named Koomoa, and condemned to work on the roads for a month. Her relatives who had accompanied her before the judge, received the same punishment; the place indicated for the fulfilment of the task being Puuonihau. The infliction of this punishment gave only more importance to Kahapuu in the eyes of the people, and she continued to deter them from listening to the Calvinist preachers, telling them to wait, because *"other men dressed in long garments were going to come from the sea, who would announce the only true religion, which all ought to embrace."*

The girl died in the earlier part of the year 1832. She had doubtless heard of the long-robed priests whose preachings at Honolulu had disturbed the slumbers of chiefesses and missionaries, and it was an easy matter to predict that sooner or later they would come over to Hawaii.[37] As a fact, already in 1829 a plan was talked of to send either Father Abraham or Father Patrick to Kona, Hawaii, under pretext of improving the lands of governor Kuakini, but for some reason or other it did not materialize.[38]

That Kahapuu had been in either direct or indirect contact with Catholic converts is most probable, for one of her prayers is an attempt to render the Hail Mary, and the name of the Blessed Virgin also repeatedly occurs in the other prayers, which are, however, evidently of Protestant origin, as appears from the frequent occurrence of the words Jehovah, Emmanuel, Abraham, salvation or life, and halleluia, and fragments culled from the Protestant hymnbook.

From the mouths of Kahapuu's surviving relatives in Kau and Puna, I have gathered at different times two versions of her prayers, and have also found a copy of the same, which appears to have been written by Father Denys Maudet, in 1879, and another by Father Eustathe, who collected the Hapuu story in 1854. The four versions are substantially the same; we may hence assume to have the authentic Hapuu-formulary.

It is made up of a series of ejaculatory prayers, which are in general expressions of sorrow for sin, belief in the Blessed Trinity: Jehovah, Emmanuel and the Holy Ghost, and of hope in Jesus, the Saviour; but are often also void of sense.

How the sect spread after the death of its foundress is related by Rev. Mr. Sheldon Dibble.[39]

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37 Cf. Kahapuu papers, Archives Catholic Mission, Honolulu, M. 18.

38 Bachelot's Journal.

39 History and General Views of the Sandwich Island Mission, New York, 1839, pp. 107 et seq.

"In Puna, a district under my missionary superintendence, and about thirty miles from my place of residence, some young men took advantage of the state of things,[40] to bring themselves into notice. They devised a system of religion half Christian and half heathen. They promulgated that there were three gods: Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and Hapu (a young woman who had pretended to be a prophetess, and had lately deceased.) They dug up the bones of Hapu, adorned them with kapas, flowers and birds' feathers; deposited them in a prominent spot, and marked about this spot a definite inclosure. This they called the *place of refuge.* They went from house to house, saying that the heavens and earth were about to meet, and all who were not found in the place of refuge would be destroyed. Many other things they said which I shall not take up your time to mention.

Many of the ignorant people, in part from terror, and in part from the promptings of carnal hearts, listened to the young men, and assembled around the bones of the deified Hapu. They erected at once a neat thatched building as a temple, and another as a sepulchre. The throng of people was very great, and they continued day and night in their worship.

In the midst of it the report was brought to our station; and in company with a young chief by the name of Hoolulu, I immediately set out for the place. They heard of us before our arrival and dispersed to their houses. Self-convinced of their folly, they could not think of meeting us. On our arrival, all we met seemed to be ashamed, and disposed to hide their faces. We succeeded in collecting a company together and mildly exposed the foolishness and guilt of their conduct. They seemed to be confounded. We then inquired if they had any desire to continue the senseless worship of Hapu. "No desire," was the reply; and as a test of its sincerity, the temple of Hapu was soon ascending in flame and smoke toward heaven."

The sect continued, however, till the arrival of Father Walsh in Puna in the year 1841, when its members, seeing the fulfilment of Hapuu's prophecy, in the coming of the "long-robed priest," followed his instructions and became Catholics.[41]

40 The author alludes to the disorders which prevailed during the year 1833, when Kauikeaouli having announced his majority, assumed the reins of the government. For which, confer Bingham's A Residence, pp. 447 et seq. It is worth noticing in that account that at the time the missionaries could boast only of 600 church members throughout the Islands.

41 F. Maigret, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 773.

CHAPTER VIII

The Charge of the Irish Brigade

Ecclesiastical Division of Oriental Oceania.—The First Vicar-Apostolic.—The King's Majority.—Saturnalia.—Bro. Columba Murphy.—New Persecution.—An Evasive Document.—Arrival of Father Walsh.—Visit of La Bonite.—A Dinner on Board.—An After-Dinner Speech.—H. B. M. Acteon.—English Treaty.—An Absurd Clause.—Father Walsh's Activity.

When in 1825, at the solicitation of Mr. Rives, the establishment of a Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Archipelago was determined upon, Father Alexis Bachelot had been appointed as the first Prefect Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands. His jurisdiction extended no further. However, we have seen how before the expulsion of the priests from Oahu, the Honolulu merchants had repeatedly advised the starting of a mission in some of the South Sea Islands, and Father Bachelot did not neglect to call the attention of the religious authorities to those yet uncultivated fields.

Consequently Father Coudrin, the Superior General of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, begged of the Holy See that his children be entrusted with the evangelization of those southern archipelagoes. His request was granted, and by a decree of the Holy Congregation of the Propaganda, at its meeting of May 20th, 1833, "all the islands of both the Northern and Southern Pacific Ocean, from Easter Island inclusive until the archipelago of Roggewein, equally inclusive, and from the Sandwich Islands down to the Antarctic Circle" were committed to the spiritual care of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts.[1]

This new ecclesiastical division was to be called "the Vicariate Apostolic of Oriental Oceanica," and was divided into two prefectures: one to the south, the other to the north of the Equator; over the latter, which extended from the longitude of the westernmost of the Hawaiian group to the longitude of Easter Island, Father Bachelot was confirmed as Prefect; while the former, containing the rest of the vicariate, was put under the jurisdiction of Father Chrysostome Liausu, both prefects being under the dependency of a Vicar Apostolic, to which dignity Father Jerome Rouchouze was elevated with the title of Nilopolis.[2]

Two parties of missionaries left successively, destined for the Southern prefecture. The first was composed of Fathers Chrysostome Liausu, Francis of Assise Caret, Honore Laval, and Brother Columba Murphy, a choirbrother. They embarked at Bordeaux toward the end of December, 1833, but on account of unfavorable winds, could not leave the Bay of Biscay before February 1st, 1834. They arrived in the Gambier Islands on August 7th of the same year, except Father Liausu, who had remained at Valparaiso at the request of the Franciscan Fathers.[3]

The second company was to depart under direction of the Vicar Apostolic as soon as he had received the episcopal consecration. This he received at Rome, September 22, 1833, out of the hands of Cardinal Pedicini, and on the 29th of October, 1834, the new Bishop left to take possession of his vicariate, in company

1 Decret. Congreg. Prop. Fidei, May 30, 1833; Arch. C. M., D. R. 38.
2 Ibidem.
3 Annales Prop. de la Foi, VIII, p. 27.

with three priests, Fathers Frederic Pages, Desiré Maigret, and Cyprian Liausu, and three brothers catechists.[4]

Mgr. Rouchouze arrived with his company in Mangareva, May 9th, 1835, where they found the mission begun by Fathers Caret and Laval in a very flourishing state.[5]

In the beginning of the year 1833, Kauikeaouli, feeling that the possession of a ship would make him happy, told his premier to buy him one. But the good Kinau thought it a plaything too luxurious for a prince whose debts were already not inconsiderable, and consequently refused the royal request. The young king's chagrin on being disappointed was so great that he took to drinking and entered upon a course of libertinism. The older chiefs tried in vain to bring him back to the paths of righteousness. Kauikeaouli let them know that *he* was the King, and meant to reign by himself and not to be interfered with. The bad example of the court naturally caused a revival of licentiousness among the masses. Restraints having been withdrawn from the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors, Honolulu became the theatre of such an unbridled dissoluteness, that the very foreigners who had encouraged the king to take off the restrictions imposed on the sale of intoxicating beverages, now asked him to put a stop to this state of anarchy.[6]

As a rule those natives who professed Christianity remained within the bonds of decency during this commotion. "The six hundred members of the church in different parts of the islands," writes Bingham, "for the most part, stood their ground firmly. Samuel J. Mills and the young princess, and a few others, were drawn into the snares of the devil, and occasioned disappointment and grief."[7]

Likewise Brother Melchior thus relates the conduct of the Catholic natives during the Saturnalia in Honolulu, which lasted over a year. "Although we can say that our Christians persevere in the Faith, some of them, however, feel the absence of their pastors. The liberty each one has to live as he pleases, has brought this small number to a state which makes us grieve; the others persevere."[8] Many of them took to drinking. Therefore, when they came to the Brother to inquire about the fast—for Lent was approaching—he told them to keep it by not drinking any rum.[9]

When thus Kinau's authority was considerably diminished, and the missionaries lost, in consequence, their hold on the government, whilst—not exactly for the good of the country—the liberals were on top for the first time since Liholiho's death, Brother Melchior thought he saw the dawn of religious liberty rise at the horizon of all these disturbances, and he kept his superiors informed of the changing situation.

When therefore the Bishop of Nilopolis arrived at Mangareva, all the missionaries advised him to send Brother Columba to Hawaii to observe the situation. He was chosen for this end, because being a British subject and not in Holy Orders, no objection could be raised to his visiting Hawaii.[10]

On his arrival at Honolulu, August 21, 1835, he first visited the British consul, by whom he was cordially welcomed. Having also called on the American consul, he there inquired where he could find the priests' house, and was told that it was quite near by and that he would find it occupied by two brothers.[11] He

4 Stanislas Perron, Vie du Pere Coudrin, pp. 587-589.
5 Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, IX, pp. 182, 183.
6 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 447 et seq.
7 A Residence, p. 450.
8 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VIII, p. 25.
9 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Jan., Feb., April, 1834.
10 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, IX, p. 183.
11 Bro. Leonard Portal had joined Bro. Melchior Oct. 17, 1834.

then went over to the house. On the advice of Mr. Charlton it was resolved that next day he should take up his residence at the Mission without asking anybody's permission. Thus it happened that Brother Columba was for three weeks at Honolulu without any chief knowing of it. The king was ill at that time; but Kinau having finally been informed of the presence of the new "Palani," bade him to present himself before her.

Next day, Mr. Murphy, accompanied by his consul, went to see the premier. Mr. Charlton conducted the conversation. As Kinau asked of the Brother, what had brought him to the Islands, the consul answered that his countryman had come to do whatever he wanted.

"We have been told," said Kinau meekly, "that he has been establishing missions in other islands."

"So he will do here."

"He ought to have called sooner on us."

"He that is bearer of a passport of the King of England may go wherever he pleases, and he will not call on anybody but the king."

"But he did not see the king."

"His Majesty is sick, and when I informed him of Mr. Murphy's arrival, he said that he would be pleased to meet him as soon as he should feel better."

"Will the gentleman always remain here?"

"As long as he wants."

Having thus terminated their conversation with Kinau, the two men left for the king by whom they were well received. In the course of the conversation the consul asked the king if he would not like to see a college established at Honolulu, whereupon the prince prudently answered that he would consult the chiefs on the matter.[12]

Having obtained all the information he wanted, Mr. Murphy embarked for Monterey, where he hoped to find his countryman, Father Short. He must have thought the actual situation in Hawaii favorable enough, for he had made arrangements with the shipmaster to take both Messrs. Bachelot and Short back to the Islands. However, on his arrival at Monterey, Father Short was absent, being detained by sickness in a place some thirty miles inland, whilst Father Bachelot was still further away at his mission at San Gabriel.

Before the Brother could communicate with the priests, the vessel left; but from that time on, Father Bachelot remained on the lookout for an opportunity to return to his beloved mission.[13]

Shortly before Mr. Murphy's visit to Honolulu, the persecution of the Catholic natives, who since September 11th, 1832, had been left undisturbed, burst out again. The occasion seems to have been the arrival of the seventh company of missionaries, on June 6th, and the annual meeting of the missionaries which quite naturally caused a renewed activity. No efforts were spared to pervert the *Palani,* and as these remained faithful, the fanatic *kumus* hunted them everywhere to drive them to the Protestant prayer meetings and schools.[14]

On August the first, two women, Kilika and Lahina, who had refused to attend Bingham's services, were loaded with irons. This time the persecution seemed to be more of a money making scheme, for they were each fined 25 piasters. Unhappily for those who needed the coin, the poor women were unable to furnish the amount. Then they were told to furnish mats instead, but as they had none, Kinau conceived such a disdain for people so utterly useless to her

12 Bro. C. Murphy, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 188 et seq.
13 Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 279.
14 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 466: Bro. Melchior's Journal, June 1-22, July 9-15, 1835.

treasury that she condemned them to gather with their hands the excrements in a lane used by the prisoners and guards of the fort as a place to satisfy their natural needs. During the night the hands of the poor sufferers were manacled, but in the morning their fetters were taken off that they might work at their ignominious task.

To increase their shame, the rabble frequently gathered in the lane, and followed the confessors with hoots and abuse when they carried their unseemly burdens to the sea.

When not thus occupied, they were kept working at a wall near the fort. They remained exposed to these ill-treatments until the 16th of January, 1836, when they were released only on condition of making several mats for the chiefs.[15]

These outrages had, however, not the results the persecutors intended. For not only did the victims remain attached to their religion, but many a native, admiring their constancy and patience, asked of the catechists to be instructed in the Catholic Faith.[16]

The foreigners were particularly indignant over this new mode of religious persecution; consequently the American and British consuls went to remonstrate with Kinau and insisted that the prisoners should be liberated. They would doubtless have succeeded in their noble endeavors, had not Bingham opposed them, saying that all Hawaiians ought to be of one mind.[17] This happened August the 8th.

The catechist Simeon, with five catechumens, was also arrested on December the 29th, taken before the chiefs and after an examination as to their beliefs, they were condemned to the same ignominious treatment as the two women we have just mentioned.

Simeon having become ill, Brother Melchior managed to pay him a short visit in his prison. He found him in a very damp place, stretched out on a table, wrapped in a piece of native cloth. A native who visited the prisoner a few days later, found him with his neck, hands and feet attached with shackles. The other catechumens were not chained.[18]

On February the 2d, 1836, some *kumus* came to see if the long imprisonment had not shaken Simeon's constancy; finding him resolutely attached to the Catholic doctrine, they beat him cruelly, and despite his sickness he was forced to go to work.[19]

On the 18th of February his wife Marianna was imprisoned for the crime of "popery," and like her husband, had her neck and limbs encircled with gyves. The next day Kinau sentenced her to share her life-partner's painful labor. The prisoners refused to take the food which was set before them by the chiefs, being under a false impression that thereby they would appear to apostatize; however, the Brothers succeeded now and then in smuggling some food, linen, and matting into the fort for the relief of the unhappy sufferers.[20] Later on Simeon succeeded in leaving the fort occasionally to get "poi" and other things he needed[21]

Often times messengers were sent them by Kinau, who in vain tried to

15 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Aug. 1-3, 1835.
16 Ibidem, Aug. 8, 1835.
17 Ibidem, loc. cit.
18 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Dec. 29-Jan. 2-15, 1836.
19 Ibidem, Feb. 16, 1836. Cf. also Suppliment Sandw. Isl. Mirror, p. 23, and Polynesian, Oct. 23, 1841.
1840, pp. 23, 24.
20 Bro. Melchior's Journal, Jan. 2-Feb. 18, 19, 1836; and Suppliment Sandw. Isl. Mirror,
21 Bro. Melchior's Journal, March 28, May 16, 1836.

shake their constancy, Simeon invariably answering: "If they demand me to do work of any kind, I will submit to it; but as to denying my faith, I cannot consent." His wife gave a similar answer.[22]

It is difficult to imagine that during this period of persecution, Rev. Mr. Bingham "saw and heard neither chains, whips nor instruments of torture," for the prisoners suffered all these ill-treatments in the fort, where Kinau habitually resided, and where he doubtless frequently called. But far from recommending milder means of "conversion," he repeatedly preached against the Papists with such a vehemency, that the American residents who heard him were greatly incensed.[23]

In regard to the different punishments inflicted on the native Catholics for religion's sake, we have quoted our authorities, all eyewitnesses of proceedings which happened, so to say, in public, "It may not be credited, but we assert it is a fact incontrovertible," writes Mr. J. C. Jones, the American consul and author of the Suppliment to the Sandwich Island Mirror, "our eyes have seen it again and again; hundreds of others have seen it, and there are individuals of the American mission, who will not have the effrontery to say they also have not seen it, not only once, but twice and repeatedly."[24]

In 1841, a committee of the Protestant mission composed of Messrs. Chamberlain, Armstrong and Castle, called on some of the chiefs, asking of them a statement, as to the reasons why, and the manner in which, punishment was dealt out to the Catholics.

The following is a part of the answer given by the chiefs, and printed in the Polynesian of October 23, 1841. The italics are ours; we have used them to call the attention to the evasive nature of the document.

As one of the subscribers is John Ii, I will note from the Suppliment to the Sandwich Island Mirror, p. 23: "Kimeone Paele . . . was beaten in the most cruel manner, kicked, trampled and spit upon by the members of the Protestant church, but more *feelingly* so by a Mr. John Ii, a native, *celebrated for his piety,* who sought every opportunity and devised every means in his power to augment the torture and suffering of this miserable man."

EXTRACT FROM THE POLYNESIAN, October 23, 1841.

"What was the punishment inflicted?

"We make known to you that it was confinement in prison. If not this, cutting stone and carrying stone, or, if not this, building stone fence, and if any one continued to make difficulty by worshiping idols five times, then he was sentenced to gather up filth in the fort and carry it off.

"The term of imprisonment or labor, as the case might be, was four months. When they cut stone they carried them but a short distance. None were ever condemned to cut and carry *fifteen hundred* stones each, a *long distance.*

"They labored during the term allotted, and were not put in irons at night *as a general thing.* The women were not condemned to make lauhala mats *ten feet* square each, nor were they separated from their husbands. *Sometimes* two or more women made but one mat during their term. The labors of the women *generally* were as much or as little only as they chose to perform. The labor of neither sex could be called severe. The prisoners were not beaten, corporal punishment being only inflicted for theft. (The native who announced that Boki had come back was whipped at the carttail; he, however, had not stolen. Author.) They were not compelled to labor when sick. They were not *as a general thing* abused or harshly treated.

"Simeon whose case is alluded to in the history (Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XII, p. 238 et seq. is meant) was treated more severely than *most,* because, *as they*

22 Lettres Litho. I, p. 474; Ann. Prop. Foi, XII, p. 253.
23 Lettres Lith. I, pp. 474, 475; Ann. Prop. Foi, XII, p. 253.
24 Suppliment to the Sandw. Isl. Mirror, 1840, p. 24.

say, he would not give attention, he uttered things of a quarrelsome character and did quarrel, and disturbed the court and it was almost impossible to preserve order.

"None of the convicts died in prison, but one who seems to be the same described as Alodia, in the French account, died soon after being released. She was sick, but was not compelled to work, or even required to. *It can not be ascertained* that any one was ever fined 25 piasters. They were never denied food and drink (*as there stated.*) [25]

"Signed by KEKUANA, JOHN II, PAHANA, KULUWAHINENUI, KANIUA, KAPALA, and KEALOHA."

In Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 325, is found a document which he claims to have copied verbatim and literatim, being an investigation of the punishments dealt out to Catholics. It is also signed by seven chiefs, six of whom are identical with the ones who have their signatures under the document published in the Polynesian. Some of the wording is absolutely identical; for the rest much is admitted by Wyllie's version that is denied by that of the Polynesian. The former appears to be the authentic version, whilst the latter was perhaps reported from memory. We give Wyllie's document in full.

1. Did the Chiefs punish the disciples of the Roman Teachers? If so, when?

We hereby make known that such punishment was inflicted, beginning in the year of our Lord, 1828.

2. What was the ground of inflicting this punishment on the disciples of the Popish Teachers? Did you intend to injure the religion of the Pope, or the kingdom of France?

We hereby declare that it was not on these accounts that these punishments were inflicted, but on account of idolatry.

3. What was their precise fault, as you thought, at the time?

Why, surprising! Perhaps you have heard that in the reign of Liholiho both Chiefs and common people were disturbed by this thing, because Liholiho overthrew the Idol-Gods, and their temples all over the kingdom, but a certain chief, Kekuakalani was his name, and his followers and chiefs that were under him, were resolved to cleave to these things, and make difficulty; Liholiho held a council, and it was resolved that he should return, and work comfortably, a man having been already killed at Waipio, on Hawaii, by these Idol worshippers. On this account, Liholiho sent two men from his presence to Waipio, to settle this difficulty. They did not reach that place, being suddenly killed at Mahiki, by the worshippers of Idols, and their bones were carried to Kekuakalani, at Kona. Now the chiefs made war on these worshippers of Idols, and blood was spilt in this work.

The evil of Idol worship was plain; it was a thing very bad, and on this account a law against Idol worship was enacted, on account of this disturbance of the kingdom. If any one was found worshipping Idols, he was punished, bound with a rope, hands and feet. This law and punishment for Idolatry was previous to the arrival of the Word of God.

Now, when we saw this Company (meaning Romanists) worshipping with an Idol standing before them, this was the real character of the idolatry that was *taboo* (forbidden). We had not merely heard, we had seen with our eyes, the old Idolatry. Therefore these persons were punished as Idolaters.

4. What was the punishment for their crimes?

We make known unto you, it was confinement in prison; if not this, cutting stone; or if not this, building stone fences; and if any one continued to make difficulty, worshipping idols, five times, then he was sentenced to gather up the filth of the Fort, and carry it off.

5. In the year 1830 were certain Popish disciples sentenced to draw 1500 coral stones, each to a great distance, being watched by a guard, and forbidden to converse with each other, and put in irons at night? Was it so?

We acknowledge it was done so, according to the amount of guilt. What we have seen was their carrying such stones as a man would carry easily, or drag or roll the

25 For the fines confer the last paragraph of the Ordinance prohibiting the Catholic religion, in Chapter XI, p. 122.

length of one chain, two chains, three or four, till it got to the pile of stones. This they did until the time specified for their work was expired.

6. Were some of them punished frequently?
Yes, some of them were repeatedly punished.

7. For what reason?
Because they repeatedly broke the law.

8. Were the women separated from their husbands and condemned to make 15 mats each?
They were not separated from their husbands, but they worked.

9. Did any of them die in prison?
None at all.

10. Were the men condemned to bring stones from the ravines, and make a heavy stone fence, 5 fathoms for each man.
Yes, they were.

11. Were the women condemned to make stone fence, 3 fathoms each?
They did so, like other convicts, as for instance, those who committed adultery; all the convicts did such work.

12. Were they furnished with wood and water?
They were all furnished with these things.

13. Was Luke or any one else, put in irons, in 1835, and fined $25 for turning to the religion of the Pope?
There were many Idol-worshippers about that time; we have not heard or seen any one by that name (of course not, the man evidently was known by his native name. Author) nor of a fine of money being inflicted, as you inquire.

14. Was Simeon put in irons in 1835, whipped, and otherwise dreadfully abused, and obliged to work when he was sick?
It is true, that some such punishment was inflicted on him (Simeon), because he was accused before the Magistrates at that time, for the one offense which he had committed, and his crime was plain; but other offenses were soon obtained; he would not give attention; he uttered things of quarrelsome character, and quarreled in and disturbed the Court, and it was almost impossible to preserve order. Afterwards he repented on account of his having acted so. No convict before or since, ever acted so before the Judges. When he was sick, he was strongly forbidden to work, and he sat still until recovered, and then he went to work.

15. By whose advice were the Popish disciples punished—by that of the Chiefs, or some foreigners?
By the direction of the Chiefs only.

16. Did not Mr. Bingham, or some other foreign teacher, stir up the Chiefs to inflict punishment on those who turned to the side of the Pope?
From the time of their arrival until the year 1837 none of these were chosen as Members of the Council of Chiefs, to consult together and enact laws, in reference to any whom they wished to censure or injure—not at all. They did not sit in the Assembly of Chiefs for seeking laws.

Here evidently the chiefs neither wanted to compromise their foreign teachers, nor commit a falsehood; the answer is absolutely irrelevant, and can hardly stand for anything else but; Yes, they did.

17. Were all the convicts punished alike? Perhaps the sentence of the Popish disciples far exceeded that of others?
The punishment was according to the offense, according to law; all were not equal. If any one committed great offense, great was his fine and punishment; it was so with the transgressors who opposed the laws.

(Signed)

KEKUANAOA,
KAAOAOHEMA,
DANIELA KANINA,
R. PAAHANA,
KALUAHINENUI,
KEALOHA,
J. II.

The natives continued to be harrassed for their adherence to the Catholic Faith until after the arrival of the French man-of-war l'Artémise, when the Hawaiian chiefs were forced to grant liberty of conscience to their subjects.

However, in this dire visitation the Catholics were no longer to be deprived of the assistance of a spiritual father; Divine Providence granted them a powerful consolation by sending them a most zealous priest, whom we may rightly call the Apostle of Hawaii, in view of the many missions he established throughout the group, and the innumerable conversions he effected. It was Father Arsenius Robert Walsh, an Irishman by birth, and, like Fathers Bachelot and Short, a member of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

After the visit of Brother Columba Murphy to Honolulu, Brother Melchior had written as follows to his Superior-General:

"We have also been apprised that His Lordship (the Bishop of Nilopolis) seriously thinks of coming here. This news consoles us; however, we are not without fear. We know the influence the Methodists (he hereby means the Boston missionaries, who however, did not belong to the Methodist church, but some of whom were Congregationalists, others Presbyterians) have over the mind of several chiefs. The English and American consuls, the other foreigners, as well as the king himself say—and it is also my own opinion—that Messrs. Bachelot and Short cannot come back to the Sandwich Islands, at least not for some time to come; but that other priests migh be admitted, principally if among them were British subjects. And if they came under the protection of the American government, but preferably yet of the English government, to which this country is supposed to belong, the Methodists and the chiefs that belong to their party will have to moderate themselves. As far as the King is concerned, he awaits only such an opportunity to declare himself in our favor. He is not yet married; neither is he baptized; he only thinks of amusing himself. I repeat it: it is through the English government that the door of the missions of Tahiti, Sandwich, and perhaps other neighboring islands, can be opened easily. The people do not oppose much obstacle to the progress of the Faith; the number of those that are being instructed is great; notwithstanding the persecution. They agree in saying that if liberty of conscience were granted, almost everybody would join us."[26]

Brother Columba had in a similar way reported the religious situation in Hawaii to the prefect residing at Valparaiso, Father Liausu.[27]

Now it happened that even before Brother Melchior's letter had reached the Superior-General, Father Walsh had been sent to Valparaiso, destined for the missions. He arrived at the aforesaid port in the spring of 1836. When in August of that year the American consul there equipped a vessel (the Garissila, Captain Seymour), which was to call at the port of Honolulu, the Prefect resolved to improve the occasion to see, if, this time, it would be possible for a priest to establish himself there. Father Walsh, being a British subject, was chosen for the perilous undertaking. Furnished with letters of recommendation from the American and British consuls at Valparaiso to their colleagues in Hawaii, and with "sixty dollars" for his needs,[28] the young missionary arrived at the place of his destination on the 30th of September, 1836.

Jarves says that Father Walsh was "a man of low habits and violent temper; well suited by congenial tastes to secure the good will of the partisans of his prede-

26 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 274, 275.
27 Ibidem, p. 186.
28 Father Liausu, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 271, 272.

cessors."[29] Those that have known him long and well, describe him as a gentleman beloved and respected by all except the Boston missionaries, who hardly could love the man who successfully wrestled with them all over the group. He was of a firm, resolute character; just the man needed under the difficult circumstances. He smoked and used liquor very moderately. If smoking tobacco is a low habit, how shall we qualify "chewing" tobacco to which some of the Boston missionaries were addicted? But one needs but to read Jarves' violent attacks on Catholics to find out that his description of Father Walsh is but a mirror-image of the author.

Having been introduced by the captain to his consul, Father Walsh went from there to the mission premises, where he found the two brothers, Melchior and Leonard busy with their spiritual reading. Their transports at the unexpected sight of a priest of their Congregation need not be described.

The ensuing day, Mr. Charlton introduced the priest to Kinau. Reluctantly she granted him permission to stay, but soon after she repented; for on October the 3d, she summoned him before the council of the chiefs. They then limited his permission to reside until the arrival of the British man-of-war, Acteon, which was expected before long.

Nevertheless on October the 7th, early in the morning, Kinau sent a messenger to notify the priest that he had to quit the Island; the same evening the order was renewed.[30]

But the following morning Father Walsh's painful situation was relieved by the entrance into port of the French corvette "La Bonite," Captain Vaillant.

Although the cannons of the fort boomed forth their volleys to welcome the visitor, the sight of the French tricolor inspired the chiefs and missionaries with rather gloomy apprehension. It had been easy enough to expel two defenseless priests, and unlimited had been their courage in oppressing the Frenchmen (Palani) when by that name aged women, little children, and unresisting native men were meant. But these Palani had twenty-four large guns aboard and 150 soldiers who knew how to handle them. With beating hearts, the king's secretary, Haalilio, and two other natives came on board together with the pilot, and tried to find out if the captain had any knowledge of the outrage perpetrated in 1831, or orders from his government to retaliate.[31]

The captain had not; for the priests had not lodged any complaint with their home government. The only orders concerning Hawaii the commander had received before sailing were " . . . . . to gather all the information proper to gain a knowledge of the advantages and dangers which expeditions made by our merchants to those shores might meet with; the kind of protection they may need; the dispositions of the local authorities and inhabitants towards the French; the chances of navigation near the coasts, etc., etc. . . . . "

He was furthermore instructed "to seize all opportunities which might be offered to him to render French captains of vessels and merchants the services in his power; to receive their complaints whenever they would appear just; and wherever they were in need of protection, to endeavor to make up for the deficiency of a permanent station or of a consular agent, by obtaining reparation for the wrongs they might have suffered.[32]

At the time of receiving Haalilio's visit, the captain of La Bonite had not yet been informed of the wanton injury inflicted upon a French subject in the person of Father Bachelot.

29 History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, 1843, p. 304.
30 Letter of Father Walsh, Nov. 17th, 1836.
31 De La Salle, Voyage autour du Monde, II, p. 231.
32 Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 12, 13, Lettre de M. le Ministre de la Marine a M. Vaillant sur l'objet de sa mission.

But a few hours later Father Walsh came to pay his respects to the French commander, told him the story of the two missionaries who had been expelled in 1831, acquainted him with the alarm the corvette's appearance had created, and finally asked protection for himself.[33]

The two Brothers, also, did not delay paying their respects to the flag of their country, and offered their premises for the observations which the scientists of the ship's company were anxious to make ashore.[34]

In consequence of the information thus obtained, Captain Vaillant resolved to impart to Kamehameha III a salutary fear of French power, treating him at the same time in such a way as to inspire him with feelings of sympathy for the French.

By a display of arms, conversations on the strength of the army and its exploits, by copious dinner parties, courtesy and presents, the commander flattered himself fairly to have attained this end on his leaving Honolulu.

On the 12th of October, Kauikeaouli, Kinau and their suite had been invited to take dinner on board. Owing to the multifarious libations they had indulged in, both the King and his premier were in high spirits, and they made no secret of their satisfaction. Withal it was noticeable that Kauikeaouli was ill at ease. He was shrewd enough to understand that after the many conversations the foreign residents had had with Capt. Vaillant, the latter could not be ignorant of the banishment of Messrs. Bachelot and Short. Till then, it is true, he had made no allusions to the event, but his very reserve and demureness in the midst of the courtesies he lavished on the king, left that ruler in a painful incertitude. Finally, Kauikeaouli made up his mind to broach the subject; hence through the offices of the American consul, he expressed a desire to obtain a certificate that La Bonite had been well received in his dominions.[35]

This was the occasion the captain had been waiting for. Assuming a severe countenance he answered: "La Bonite, indeed, has been kindly received in the Sandwich Islands; a French man-of-war could not be received but well in any place where it puts in an appearance. But how have the Frenchmen been received, who before her came to Honolulu? They have been brutally driven away, deported to an inhospitable strand, and there abandoned without resources, the nearest place being from 12 to 15 miles distant. Can one fancy that such information has been received by me without indignation?"[36]

A painful silence resulted for some moments. Then the king tried to excuse himself, timidly saying that since they taught a religion different from the one followed in his kingdom, he had feared lest quarrels between the inhabitants might be the outcome of it.

"But," answered the commandant, "you feared not the wrath of France, when thus ill-treating two of her subjects, who did not deserve it. You may be thankful to these peaceful men who have been good enough not to complain; for, had they written to France in order to denounce the violence of which they have been the victims, our powerful monarch would not have suffered this outrage to pass unpunished. . . . . ."

By way of illustration he narrated the recent expedition to Algiers, in which France vindicated her honor by the capture of the robber-city and the complete defeat of the Dey, while she acquired for herself a most flourishing and important colony.

33 Ibidem, vol. II, p. 231; F. Walsh, Letter of Nov. 17, 1836.
34 Ibidem, p. 235.
35 Ibidem, pp. 252-259.
36 Ibidem, pp. 259, 260.

The poor king did not know any longer where he stood; his sister, Kinau, bowed her head and dared not say a word.

Satisfied with the impression he had made, M. Vaillant would not prolong the embarrassment of his guests. "Do not be uneasy," he said to the king in a kind voice, "if France knows how to punish those who resist her, she knows also to forgive. The French are good and faithful friends to those that treat them well. Moreover, a sure means of conciliating the favor of my sovereign is at your disposal. Two other Frenchmen are living among you. Respect their persons and property. Receive favorably those that may come later on. At this price the friendship of France may be had."

The king promised that it would be done. M. Vaillant told Kinau that he hoped that henceforth she would prove herself the most zealous protectress of French subjects.[37]

On the 22d the king pledged himself most positively that the two lay brothers would be left in the tranquil enjoyment of their property, and that he would protect their persons and interests. He also revoked the order of expulsion against Father Walsh, authorizing him to reside at Honolulu, and even to exercise the functions of his ministry in one of the houses of the Frenchmen, under condition that only the Catholic Europeans would be admitted to his instructions, and not the natives.

Kauikeaouli finally promised to receive with particular good will all French subjects whom their business might bring to his dominions.[38]

La Bonite sailed in the morning of October 24th. The preceding day the British sloop-of-war Acteon, under command of Lord Edward Russell, had been sighted; as a flat calm surprised her when approaching the roadsteads, she was prevented from letting her anchor go before nightfall, and only entered the harbor the next morning. Lord Edward Russell remained over three weeks. During his stay he negotiated a treaty between Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands, which was signed on November the 16th.

The first article of that treaty stipulated that

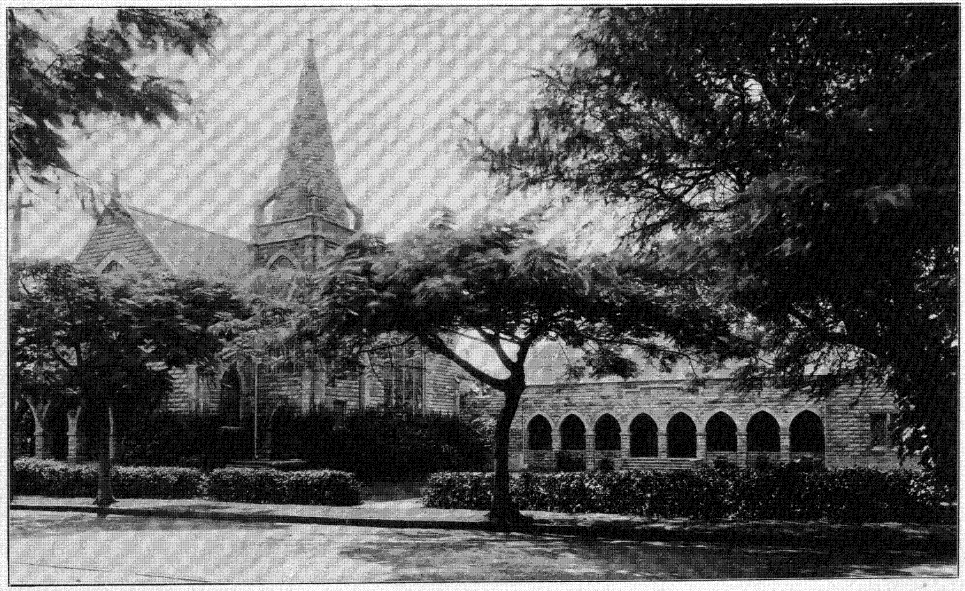
"English subjects shall be permitted to come with their vessels and property of whatever kind to the Sandwich Islands, they shall also be permitted to reside therein as long as they conform to the laws of these Islands and to build houses and warehouses for their merchandise with the consent of the King, and good friendship shall continue between the subjects of both countries, Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands."

The clause in this article "with the consent of the King," has been the subject of much and violent discussion both before and after the signing of the treaty.[39]

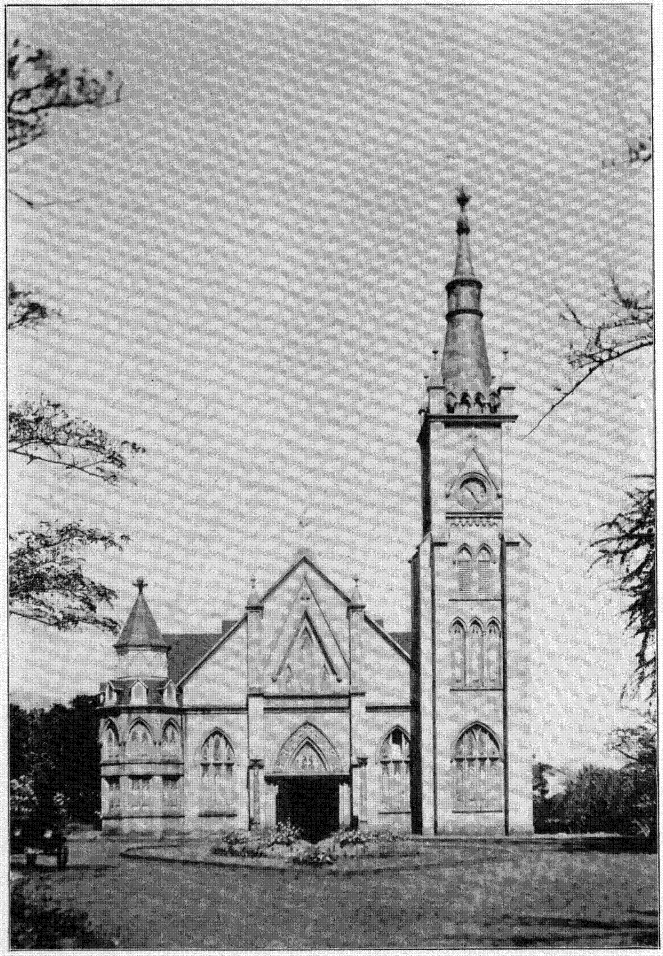
This restriction makes of the convention an absurdity. It was certainly not necessary, nay, not even profitable in the slightest degree, that an English lord, commander of a man-of-war, and the chiefs of a nation should gravely meet and discuss at great length, in order to reach an agreement, that henceforth "English subjects shall be permitted to come. . . . to the Sandwich Islands . . . . and to build houses and warehouses . . . . . if the king allows them to."

The Dalailama of Thibet, if asked by some foreign diplomat that his countrymen might be allowed to take up their residence within Lhasas's most sacred

37 Ibidem, pp. 261, 262.
38 Ibidem, pp. 314, 315.
39 See Appendix to Wyllie's Report to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1851, pp. 239, 330, 289; Bingham, A Residence, p. 505; Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 311.



SACRED HEART CHURCH, PUNAHOU, HONOLULU



CHURCH OF ST. ANTHONY, WAILUKU, MAUI

shrine, would never have hesitated a moment to sign a document to that purport, he being allowed to add the clause "if first they receive my permission."

Withal, when one reads the minutes of the meetings in which this convention was discussed, concluded, and signed by twenty-four of the assisting chiefs, it becomes apparent that this preposterous meaning of the article was willed by the rulers, and finally consented to by the English lord. The chiefs had even first insisted that their own consent would be required besides that of the king; but the words "and Chiefs" were struck out after a protracted debate.[40]

Father Walsh hoped to obtain through Lord Russell's intervention the right of freely preaching his religion; however, he did not obtain anything more than a new assurance that he was allowed to remain but not to preach to the natives nor to allow any of them to assist at his services.

This clause could not bind Father Walsh in conscience any more than the charge of Annas and Caiphas "not to speak at all, nor to teach in the name of Jesus" bound Peter and John. The Apostles answered "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye."[41]

This has always been the either explicit or tacit answer of the Apostles and missionaries to the princes of this world, were they Jewish high priests, Roman emperors, Chinese mandarins or Hawaiian aliis. Neither have Protestant preachers ever held themselves bound to heed the prohibitions of Catholic princes. On the contrary, where Catholics have been satisfied to offer a passive resistance, Protestants, as a rule, had recourse to arms, not merely to obtain for themselves freedom to practice their religion, but to deprive their Catholic fellow-citizens of that privilege, the possession of which they had enjoyed for centuries.

From the time of the arrival until the Declaration of Religious Tolerance on July 16th, 1839, Father Walsh baptized—principally in the mission chapel—16 adults and 30 infants, only 9 of the latter being children of foreigners. And although the catechumens were mostly instructed by native catechists, for fear, as Father Walsh says, "to attract new orders to depart," but necessarily also, on account of the priest's ignorance of the native tongue, he himself did not abstain entirely from imparting instruction to the Hawaiians, for in the Baptism Records he states, that "a young man by the name of Pule, by me instructed, has baptized at Waialua, his mother Luanuu, the wife of Napunawai, she being in danger of death."

This was in May, 1839. On June 22d, the young man himself was baptized by Father Walsh.[42]

40 Govt. Archives, Honolulu.
41 Acts, IV, 18.
42 Baptism Records, Honolulu..

CHAPTER IX

The Affair of "La Clementine"

Papal Encouragement.—On the Lookout for an Opportunity.—Fathers Bachelot and Short again Embark for Hawaii.—Arrival at Honolulu.—Ordered to Leave.—Kinau Offers a Bribe to Dudoit.—Forcible Reembarkation.—A Floating Prison.—Epistolary War.—A Clear Case of Angaria.—Something Anent the Divine Rights of Kings.—The Sulphur and the Venus.—La Clementine Recaptured.—F. Bachelot's Memorial to Captain Du Petit Thouars.—A Stormy Conference.—The Commanders Promise that the Priests Shall Depart.—A Treaty with France.—The Imogene.—Father Short Leaves.

In 1835 a Papal brief—of which Bro. Columba was bearer—had reached Father Bachelot, exhorting him to bear patiently the difficulties he encountered and not to give up the hope of continuing the Hawaiian mission.[1] The report which Brother Columba made of his visit to Honolulu caused the two exiled missionaries to surmise that, if a new attempt were made by them to establish themselves in the Hawaiian Islands, their presence might be tolerated.

Consequently they steadily watched for a vessel willing to carry them back to their mission. In the beginning of November, 1836, Father Bachelot wrote that at last he had found a ship ready to run the risk. "Our affairs here," he says, "are far from being in a fair condition, and I do not know how we shall be received. In all probability we shall be treated as enemies."

If the Catholic priests had been looking for financial advantages, they might have renounced the idea of going back to Hawaii, where poverty and persecution awaited them. Just then the Californian authorities offered Father Bachelot an annual net income of $3000 if he would consent to take charge of the Mission where he was then working. The priest declared himself willing to perform, for the time being, the duties connected with the work, but he refused to receive any salary, in order to remain free to go whenever he wanted.[2]

In February of the following year Father Walsh acquainted his colleagues with his arrival at Honolulu, the proceedings of the French and English men-of-war, and the treaty made by the latter, stipulating that British subjects were to be permitted a residence in the Sandwich Islands as long as they conformed to the laws.

"This news," writes Father Short, "greatly rejoiced us, and reanimated our confidence. Mr. Walsh let us know that the French commodore upbraided the king severely for having driven us away from his shores, albeit we were not guilty of any misdemeanor, and that he (the commodore) had obtained very favorable promises for the French who in the future might come to the king's dominions. On the other hand we have a copy of the treaty which the English commander made the king sign in favor of British subjects. In this state of affairs we considered ourselves obliged to risk another attempt. I thought that in virtue of the established convention, I, as a Britisher, had a right to go on and reside at the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Bachelot, also, was of the opinion, that the promises made to the French commander sufficiently warranted his availing himself of the occasion to rejoin his spiritual children.[3]

1 Letter Bachelot, Nov. 9, 1836.
2 F. Bachelot, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 282.
3 Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 314, 315.

On March 28th, 1837, the missioners embarked on the brig "La Clémentine," having secured a passage for $500, and an additional present of $100 to the captain, whose reluctance to take them on board could be overcome only by this inducement.

The brig belonged to Mr. Jules Dudoit, a Frenchman, but navigated under English colors. She had been chartered to a Mr. Hinckley, a merchant established at Honolulu, and was then in charge of Captain Handley.[4]

It was Mr. Bachelot's intention to go to Ponape, there to establish a new mission, in case permission to locate in the Hawaiian group could not be obtained;[5] but he believed that Mr. Short ought to try his best to remain there. "By reason of this design," writes the latter, "we had agreed that I was to go ashore before the news of our arrival spread, and that I would keep in hiding, whilst Father Bachelot would disembark ostensibly."[6]

After a voyage of twenty days the brig dropped anchor in Honolulu harbor on the 17th of April, early in the morning, and was pulled close to the wharf to facilitate the disembarkment of sixteen horses which had been brought along from California. Very shortly afterwards Father Short landed in the pilot's boat. A great number of natives had gathered about the landing, Governor Kekuanaoa being in the crowd.

The missionary was soon recognized, notwithstanding a long beard which he had grown during his stay in California, and a broad brimmed hat which overshadowed his face. He first made straight for the mission, but seeing that the crowd followed him, and fearing to attract the governor's attention, he took a roundabout path, and so succeeded in ridding himself of his escort.

Father Bachelot landed a few hours later, unmolested but not unseen. Soon the governor sent for him. The Prefect-Apostolic answered that he would call later on, being at present wearied with his long voyage. Next day the two priests were again required to come to the fort, where Kekuanaoa made his residence. Father Short went accompanied by the British consul, whilst Father Bachelot, who was ill from seasickness, begged to be excused.[7]

Kekuanaoa ordered the priests to reembark at once, and forbade Captain Handley, whom he also had sent for, to have their baggage carried ashore. However, when Father Bachelot declared his intention of staying only for a while, the governor allowed them to remain on shore for some time, adding, after some moments, that he wished it understood that this was but a provisional permission, and that any concession obtained from him was to be considered null and void on Kinau's arrival.[8]

This lady was then with the king and the rest of the chiefs at Lahaina, Maui, where they had gone to inter the remains of the king's sister, Naahienaena, who had died at Honolulu on December 30th of the preceding year.

Father Bachelot asked that the refusal of a residence be given him in writing. As a consequence the priests were presented next day with a sort of account of their first expulsion, which document Kekuanaoa requested Father Bachelot to sign. This the Prefect refused, saying: "That writing expresses your ideas; hence it behooves your and not my signature." The succeeding day another missive of nearly the same purport was submitted to them; Father

4 F. Short, Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 482; Bingham, Report to the A. B. C. F. M. p. 23.
5 Letter Bachelot, Nov. 9, 1836; Walsh, Nov. 17, 1836; Melchior, Nov. 18, 1836.
6 Lettres Lith. I, p. 483; Annales Prop. Foi, XII, p. 257.
7 F. Short, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 483, 484.
8 Memorial of Father Bachelot, Arch. Congr. SS. Hearts, Valparaiso, No. 14.

Bachelot again refused to affix his signature to it, offering to write out a version of his own, and to sign that.[9]

Hereupon, the governor probably took advice of the "unofficial" Privy Council of the Realm, and this consultation resulted in the issuing of the following handbill from the "Oahu Printing Establishment" (Missionary Press):

Honolulu, Oahu, Aperila 19, 1837.

He olelo na'u nona haole palani. Eia ko'u manao ia olua e na kanaka i kipaku ia aku mai keia aina aku, nolaila ke mau nei o ka olua kipaku ia e ko'u mau Lii, nokamea ua ninau aku a'u ia olua, e noho mai ana nei olua mauka nei; i mai olua: aole. E noho iki mauka nei a loaa ka moku, holo koke olua. Oia ko'u manao no olua, i keia mau la no olua e kali ai, a makaukau ka holo o ka moku o olua i holo mai ai, alaila, e hele aku olua i luna olaila, o ko olua holo ana aku no ia; mai hoopanee aku olua.

NA KEKUANAOA.

If Kekuanaoa was the author of this document, then he had a poor way of expressing himself in his mother tongue. For this reason perhaps the handbill bore a free English translation which precluded all ambiguity:

April 19th, 1837.

This is what I have to say to the French gentleman. This is my opinion to both of you who were sent away before from these Islands, that you are forever forbidden by our chiefs to come here, this is the reason. I asked you if you intended to live here, the answer you made was—No, we intend to stop for a few days until we can obtain a vessel to carry us from here. I replied When you get a vessel, go quickly. This is what I say to both of you: Now this time prepare you to depart in the same vessel in which you arrived: when the vessel is ready both of you are to go without delay.

NA KEKUANAOA.

Printed at the Oahu Printing Establishment.

Meantime the governor had sent word to the King at Lahaina, informing him of the return of the Catholic missionaries. The young potentate having received this letter on April 26, issued a proclamation, which he entrusted to Kinau in order to promulgate it in Honolulu.[10] She arrived there Sunday, April 30,[11] had the King's proclamation printed in Hawaiian and English, sent to the missionaries, and ten days later[12] extensively circulated among the foreign residents, consuls and captains of vessels.[13]

The document is as follows:

Ye strangers all from foreign lands, who are in my dominions, both residents and those recently arrived, I make known my word to you all, so that you may understand my orders.

The men of France whom Kaahumanu banished, are under the same unaltered order up to this period. The rejection of these men is perpetual, confirmed by me at the present time. I will not assent to their remaining in my dominions.

These are my orders to them, that they go back immediately on board the vessel on which they have come, that they stay on board her till that vessel on board which they came, sails; that is to me clearly right, but their abiding here, I do not wish.

I have no desire that the service of the missionaries who follow the Pope should be performed in my kingdom, not at all.

Wherefore, all who shall be encouraging the Papal missionaries, I shall regard as enemies to me, to my counsellors, to my chiefs, to my people, and to my kingdom.

By KAMEHAMEHA III.

This official translation was not dated, but the Hawaiian version was dated Maui, Lahaina, April 29, 1837.

9 F. Short, Lettres Lithographiees, I, pp. 483, 484.
10 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 275.
11 Sandw. Isl. Gazette, May 6, 1837.
12 Suppliment to Sandwich Island Mirror, 1840, p. 32.
13 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 275.

The copies sent to the Catholic priests being addressed to the "French" priests, Father Short sent his copy back, saying that it did not concern him, since he was a British subject, and as such entitled to a residence in Hawaii, as long as he was not convicted of any crime.[14]

Next day the Fathers were required to appear before Kinau. Mr. Bachelot went alone. Being told to comply with the royal decree, he answered that he would willingly do so, if La Clémentine sailed for Chile; that otherwise he refused absolutely to embark on her.

Mr. Dudoit who arrived about that time, accompanied by the British consul, stated in his turn, that he never would receive the priests on his board unless they came voluntarily, and a sufficient remuneration was made for their passage; he added that he would strike his flag and abandon the vessel, if they were put on board against their consent, and that he would exact satisfaction for this violation of international law.[15]

Until the 19th of April almost daily interviews between the chiefs, Mr. Dudoit and the consul took place in the fort.

Much trouble would have been spared the Chiefs, had the exiles been returned on board La Clémentine on the day of their arrival. After Captain Handley had discharged his cargo, and returned the vessel to her owner, Mr. Dudoit, he had no more right to receive passengers on board. His authority over the ship was at an end. A new complication arose when, on the 10th of May, Mr. Dudoit again chartered La Clémentine to Mr. William French, an American citizen, who without delay began to load.[16]

Eight days later Mr. Dudoit was notified that if the priests did not voluntarily embark, they would be compelled to do so. The two lay brothers were forbidden to give further shelter to the exiles; they answered that by sending them away, they might incur the blame of their government.[17]

On the 20th, Kinau is said by Dudoit to have made a last effort for obtaining his consent to receive the priests on his vessel. He states in a letter to the French consul at Manila: "The chiefs of the government have not been ashamed to offer me as a reward of my adhesion to their wishes, the seizure in my favor of the French establishment (the Catholic missionary establishment was known as the Hale Palani, i.e. the French House) to wit, to make me by a single act of despotism the proprietor of the fruit of ten years of work and privations of poor French workmen, who for the moment lodge me and my family; and this to reward me for the part I was to take in the iniquitous proceedings against other Frenchmen, who have contributed to the cost of this establishment, and whose only crime it is to be Catholic priests." (In the same letter Mr. Dudoit estimates the establishment at 6000 piasters.)[18]

This offer appears so iniquitous and crying to Heaven for a vengeance, that one hesitates to believe Kinau guilty of it, on the testimony of one man. Father Short mentions the offering of the bribe in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XII, p. 259; Lettres Lithographiées, I, p. 487; so does Captain Belcher, vol. I, p. 53; but their assertions give no new weight to the accusation; since they most probably speak on the authority of Dudoit. It must be remarked, however, that these accusations which must have been certainly read by the Protestant missionaries and by them reported to Kinau, were never

14 F. Short, Lettres Lith. I, p. 485.
15 F. Short, Lettres Lith. I, p. 486.
16 Bingham, Report A. B. C. F. M. p. 25; Alexander, Brief History, p. 219.
17 F. Short, Lettres Lith. p. 487.
18 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, copy, V. D. 20.

contradicted. Moreover, it was a frequent complaint of the foreign residents of those days, that the chiefs did not consider themselves affected by the Divine ordinance concerning "Mine and Thine."[19]

But perhaps Kinau considered the projected confiscation as a just punishment, because of the Brothers' refusal to drive out the priests; since according to the King's proclamation "all who should be encouraging (the Hawaiian text says rendering assistance to) the Papal missionaries, would be regarded as enemies, to him, to his counsellors, to his chief, to his people, and to his kingdom."

However, whether the proposition was made or not, and in whatever way the pious Kinau formed her conscience, Mr. Dudoit says that he rejected the infamous proposition with indignation.

When Kinau found out that nothing could induce Mr. Dudoit to take the Catholic clergymen aboard against their will, she resolved to have recourse to force. Consequently two natives were sent to conduct the priests to La Clémentine. When they had delivered their message, Father Bachelot answered that he would yield only to force.[20]

Whilst one of the officers went for fresh instructions, the Father made out the following protests, addressed respectively to Mr. Dudoit and the British Consul:

To. Mr. Jules Dudoit, owner of the Schooner Clémentine.

Honolulu, 20 May, 1837.

Sir,

Two men sent by the government presented themselves at my lodgings with orders to embark me by force on board your schooner Clémentine. That vessel is under English colors, and I am a Frenchman.

I protest against the violence made, and against the part which you might take in it, receiving me as a prisoner on your vessel: and I declare that you are responsible for the consequences, being fully determined to demand justice of my government.

I have the honor to be

Your most humble & obedient servt.

J. AUGUSTIN BACHELOT.[21]

Honolulu, 20th May, 1837.

Dear Sir:

Two men have just presented themselves at my lodgings who say they are sent by the regent to embark me by force on board the schooner Clémentine now in the harbor and shortly to sail.

I protest against the violence offered as a violation of the rights of British subjects at these Islands as consigned in the treaty lately made and agreed by the King of the Sandwich Islands and Lord Edwd. Russell, Captain of H.B.M. Ship Acteon.

I also protest against it as a violation of the common laws of humanity to compell any unoffending person to embark in a low state of health in which I actually find myself. It would expose me to an imminent danger of death. I therefore, Sir, feel myself bound to claim your protection against the violence offered, and have the honor to be, Sir

Your very obedt. and humble servt.

P. SHORT.[22]

The police officers tarried till about 3 o'clock, when they returned and informed the two clergymen that it was time to depart. The priests followed the emissaries, some of whom took care of their belongings.

19 Cf. f. i. Tales from the Archives, Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 6, 1910, and February 20, 1910.
20 Kumu Hawaii, August 16, 1837; Ann. Prop. Foi, XII, p. 259.
21 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 17.
22 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 18.

At the wharf they were told to step into a boat, whereupon Father Bachelot said: "Touch us, touch us." The officers did not at first appear to grasp his meaning, until one of the foreign residents said: "The Catholic priests will not go till you lay your hands upon them, to prove that you force them on board the Clémentine." Then the native placed his hand upon their shoulders, and they stepped into the boat, Father Bachelot asking the foreigners to bear witness to the proceedings. Some of them shouted: "I saw it! I saw it! I am witness to it!"[23]

As the boat came alongside "La Clémentine," the mate ordered them off, telling the native officer that no persons should be forced on board the brig, whilst he was in charge of the same. The boat hereupon returned to the wharf.[24]

Mr. Dudoit was ill and in bed whilst the priests were being taken to the wharf; however, having been informed of what was going on, he hastened to the scene, and arrived just in time to see the boat returning from a second attempt to embark the priests. He had himself rowed on board his vessel and was followed by the boat with the prisoners. Upon the parapets of the fort stood Kekuanaoa, vociferating and gesticulating as a madman, in order to prompt his subalterns not to heed Mr. Dudoit's remonstrances.[25]

Just then a boat arrived from the whaleship Matilda, containing Mr. Swain, the captain of said vessel, and other foreigners. Mr. Dudoit hailed them to be witnesses to the violence offered him, and called their attention to the fort where two cannons were uncovered and pointed towards the vessel.[26]

Meantime the native officer, pressed by the repeated orders of the irate governor, gathered sufficient courage to climb on board La Clémentine, commanding the clergymen to follow him.

It was not Mr. Dudoit's intention to defend his vessel in a futile combat. As soon as the exiles had been forced on board of the vessel by the envoys of the government, he hauled down the British ensign, which had been flying at the masthead of the brig during the proceedings we have just related, and gathering its folds under his arm, himself with his ship's company abandoned the vessel.

The consternation in and around the harbor was over; La Clémentine was quietly riding at her anchors, no longer a dignified merchant vessel, but the floating prison of Fathers Bachelot and Short, and of an infirm old man, their servant, who would not forsake them in the hour of trial.[27]

Meanwhile Mr. Dudoit had taken his flag to the British consul, Mr. Charlton, who, having been met in the street, at the gate of Mr. Reynold's courtyard, took the ensign, and by way of protest against the action of the Hawaiian government, burnt it on the spot.[28]

That same day Kinau sent on board provisions for the prisoners which she took care to renew from week to week.[29]

On the 19th, the Premier had informed the King of the difficulties she had experienced in reembarking the missioners. Kauikeaouli answered as follows:

Lahaina, Maui, 20th May, 1837.

This is my reply to you, Kinau. Take these men of France, and put them on board the vessel in which they came; if the captain refuses to admit these men of

23 Kumu Hawaii, August 16, 1837; Brinsmade, in Sandwich Island Gazette, June 24, 1837.
24 Suppliment, Sandw. Island Mirror, 1840, p. 35.
25 F. Short, Lettres Lith. I, pp. 487, 488.
26 Father Bachelot, Memorial; according to Mr. Samuel N. Castle, this seems to have been the permanent position of the guns, and hence implied no menace to La Clementine. Polynesian, 1841, p. 82.
27 Sandwich Island Gazette, May 27, 1837.
28 Ibidem, August 26, 1837.
29 F. Bachelot's Memorial, Arch. Congr. SS. HH. Valparaiso, No. 14; Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 277.

France, on board, then let them pay me the money which I paid to William Sumner, for they have brought back without liberty these two men that have been banished from my dominions. This, also, inquire of Kelemaka what we said with the captain of the French ship of war. In our conversation with him, he inquired of me. "Why do you not desire the Catholic religion?" I replied, "I desire not that religion here, lest the people of my kingdom be divided.' He said, 'Perhaps it would be well to have some foreigners here like those of our religion." I said to him, 'It would not be well; if the people of my kingdom were enlightened it might be well.' To this he assented, saying, 'You know the nature of your kingdom.' That which he said to me about me giving protection to the people of France that came here, and that is what you are to inquire of him, that it may be plain to you, for he is the person who interpreted between us, and that you may hear correctly."[30]

This letter arrived at Honolulu after the reembarkation had taken place. The king was informed of the accomplished fact by Kinau, by the British consul, and by Mr. J. C. Jones, United States consul. The latter inclosed a protest by William French, a citizen of the United States, complaining of the invasion of La Clémentine, which vessel he had chartered, as a violation of the rights of an American citizen, and of the treaty made with the United States in 1826 by Captain ap Catesby Jones.

This was the beginning of a kind of epistolary war, the din of which sounded unto the utmost boundaries of the Pacific. Mr. Dudoit and Father Bachelot wrote to the French consuls at Lima, Valparaiso and Manila, to implore the protection of their government. The British and American consuls chartered a vessel which they dispatched to Valparaiso, there to expose their grievances to the commodores of the naval stations.[31]

Before taking this step, they had endeavored to obtain redress from the King, who, during all these disturbances stayed on Maui. In answer they received long missives[32] in which all their demands were flatly denied, the King declaring that he fully approved of all that had been done by Kinau. In a letter to Mr. Charlton he said: "My will is that the vessel depart, and that of my chiefs also; and this has been our order from the beginning."[33]

The style of the King's letters evidently point to the authorship of some missionary. The King himself declared to Mr. Jones that the decree of expulsion had been by Mr. Bingham, and that he had only signed out of fear.[34]

How he could order away a merchant vessel belonging to a friendly nation whose citizens were entitled to reside in, or trade with the Hawaiian Islands in virtue of treaty rights, at the same time forcing passengers on board of her against the will of the owner and charterer, and disclaim to be guilty of violating the law of nations, is hard to explain. The action of the Hawaiian rulers in the affair of La Clémentine seems to constitute a clear case of unwarranted angaria.

"Angaria is the requisition of a merchant vessel for any public service. . . . The right (of angaria) . . . on account of the risks and onerous charges it imposes upon the vessel which is subjected to it, engages the responsibilities both material and financial of the state which by a necessity of a superior order is obliged to have recourse to it. The exercise of these two rights (of embargo and of angaria) especially of the latter, is extremely delicate, and requires much caution in order to safeguard the private foreign interests which are affected by it. For on one hand it upsets commercial relations which were freely engaged in, and which it is the duty of

30 Wyllie, Op. Cit. p. 277.—The man named by the King, Kelemaka, was a native of Louisiana, who according to La Salle, spoke with equal facility the English, French and Hawaiian languages, and who was then a resident of Honolulu. His true name was Gravier. Cf. De la Salle, II, p. 234.

31 Letters of F. Bachelot and Mr. Dudoit; Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 20, 23, 24.—Letter of Richard Charlton to Kamehameha III, May 31, 1837.

32 They may be read in Wyllie's Historical Summary, pp. 279-281.

33 Wyllie, Op. cit. p. 279.

34 F. Short, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XII, p. 261.

all governments to respect and favor; by diverting a vessel from the course the owners intend it to take, it prolongs its voyage, jeopardizes its cargo hither and thither, increases the wages of the crew, occasions unforeseen and forced expenses, etc.

The universal rule to be followed in this matter is, that every government which is bound by circumstances to have recourse to angaria, be not only responsible for the material consequences to the vessel which is subjected to it, but be also obliged before imposing a requisition, to debate with those interested, and to pay an indemnity for the required services."[35]

Mr. Dudoit was in no way responsible for the return of the Catholic clergymen, who arrived on La Clémentine, owned, indeed, by that gentleman, but for the time being at the disposal of its charterer, Mr. Hinckley. The priests themselves violated no law in coming back. The decree of banishment said: "Begone from this land," but did not state that the exile was to be forever. Moreover, that decree had been revoked as soon as it was promulgated, and substituted by an "amicable invitation to the priests to leave the country."

At the moment of their return, no law forbidding Catholic priests to reside in Hawaii did exist, although the opposition of the Chiefs against them was universally known. Father Walsh had obtained permission to stay.

The only person responsible for the return of the two exiles was, besides themselves, Captain Handley. But, if he knew them to be exiles from Hawaii, he might very well have considered the decree of banishment repealed by the English treaty. There can, however, be no doubt that this captain had his apprehensions, as is seen by his demand for a bonus of $100 as a condition for taking them on board.

As far as the positive right of nations goes, the Hawaiian Government had a right to refuse residence to any foreigner whom they expected to be a source of trouble; neither were they obliged to give any reason for their action, except in case of the violation of a treaty.[36] However, the government's right to expel the priests, does not seem to have warranted a recourse to angaria.

As for the missionaries themselves, they were in no way bound to heed the decree of banishment—even had it not been revoked. Vattel's authority has so often been invoked to defend the action of the Hawaiian rulers, that we need no excuse for quoting him, when he justifies the return of the exiled priests.

Says he[37]: "He (the ruler) may refuse their services (of the missionaries), and if he orders them away, they must obey. *One needs a very express order of the King of kings in order to disobey legitimately a sovereign who commands in conformity with the extension of his power,* and the ruler who is not convinced of this extraordinary order of the Divinity, makes but use of his rights, when punishing the disobeying missionary."

"But if the nation or a considerable body of the people wishes to retain the missionary or to follow his doctrines, we have elsewhere established the right of the nation and those of the citizens."

Now it suffices to remark that the Catholic priests were fully provided with that "extraordinary order of the Divinity: *Going therefore, teach ye all nations"* (Math. XXVIII, 19). That the chiefs of Hawaii did not recognize their divine right to preach, did not make that right less real. If the Apostles had waited for the countersignature of the Roman emperors, Christianity would never have been preached to the world.

The principle of the Peace of Westphalia: *Cujus regio, hujus religio* had only

35 Le Droit des Gens, Charles Calvo, vol. I, p. 430.

36 See for instance, Belgian Law, as interpreted by the tribunal of Antwerp, August 14, 1883, and the expulsion of the Baroness Vaughan in 1909 by Minister Vandenheuvel.

37 Le Droit des Gens, 1820, vol. II, ch. IV, p. 284.

a chance to be accepted in a time, when the prince was considered to be THE *State,* and the Nation a mere accessory.

King Kauikeaouli did not exactly act upon that principle, for His Majesty had no religion to speak of; he never embraced Protestantism. He did what he was told to do by his premier under the influence of Mr. Bingham, and thought perhaps that he acted right. A few years later he began to doubt the all around wisdom of his advisers. For in an undated letter to the King of France, the young monarch naïvely writes: "Because of my lack of intelligence I frequently get into trouble, though I desire very much to live in peace with all mankind and to perform those things that are done in civilized nations. Those who are educating me and my people in book-learning are perhaps not used in things pertaining to the government and the laws of nations. They have not instructed me in these things, and therefore in my ignorance I have done things of my own will. Because of this, whilst diligently exercising at times what I think to be proper, I perhaps have ignorantly restrained the rights of those from foreign lands."[38]

On June 10, Father Short addressed a letter to his consul, asking him to be favored with a visit, that he might have an opportunity of speaking on some matters interesting to him in his present situation. The same day Mr. Charlton applied to the King, who, three days before, had returned from Maui, for permission to visit the prisoners; this permission was refused.[39]

The arrival of the King occasioned no further developments, although the literary war between him and the consuls continued, enlivened by side-skirmishes in the Sandwich Island Gazette, between the partizans of the priests and those of the government or rather of the Protestant mission.

But new actors were now approaching the scene of combat. On the 8th of July, early in the morning, H. B. M. sloop-of-war Sulphur, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, 25 days from San Blas, anchored outside of Honolulu harbor.

The captain landed at once, and was received with much warmth by his old friends, the British and American consuls, the former applying for his interference in the question raised against the Hawaiian Government by the forcible entry of La Clémentine.[40]

Having been advised by Consul Jones to address Captain Belcher in order to claim his protection as a British subject, Father Short exposed his situation to the commander in the following terms:

On board the Clémentine,
Honolulu, July 8, 1837.

To Edward Belcher Esq. Commanding
H. B. M. Ship Sulphur.

Sir:—I beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival to this port, and to lay before you the case of an unoffending British subject, whom the representative of his Government has not been able to protect from lawless and arbitrary oppression; I am fully convinced that your presence and authority will easily obtain that justice, which reason, menace and remonstrance have sought in vain.

The person who claims your protection, is a Catholic Priest, who came here in 1827, in company with two French clergymen; one of whom returned to France. They formed a small congregation of their religion here under the protection of Boki, then Governor of this island. Towards the latter end of 1829, they were prohibited to instruct the natives by Kaahumanu, but were expressly authorized by her to remain unmolested in the exercise of their religion, in favor of foreigners. It was not so much as objected to them, that they had once broken this prohibition, or infringed any law, when, in 1831, they were forcibly embarked in a little schooner, and cast upon a desert spot on the Coast of California. I protested, in vain, against the violence

38 Govt. Archives, Honolulu.
39 Correspondence, Short-Charlton: Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 22-34.
40 Belcher, Narrative, vol. I, p. 54.

offered, claiming the right of a British subject. The intervention of the British consul was disregarded, as it has been on the present occasion.

After five years exile, Kaahumanu, who had been the author of it, being no more, and her acts against us having no force, to judge by her own rule, or that of her chiefs, who told us, that those of Boki in our favor *had no force after his decease.* I had been duly informed of the treaty made in favor of British subjects by Lord Edward Russell, at the passage of the Acteon, which assured me the right at least of residing here as long as I conformed to the laws: these and other assurances from particular persons engaged me to return. But after a month of vexations on shore, I, together with my companion in misery, was forced on board this brig, in spite of my protestations, against the violence offered, and the intervention of the British consul in my behalf.

I only claim the rights which every subject of H. B. M. always had and has, as confirmed by the aforesaid treaty, to reside at these Islands, with entire liberty and under the same conditions as any other, without my quality, as Catholic Priest, being at any time, a pretext for vexation or molestation of any kind, either in person or in property.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedt. and humble Servt.
P. SHORT.[41]

The British commander gave notice to Kinau and the chiefs that he wished to confer with them concerning the complaints made by two British subjects against the government.

He then called at Kinau's house, where he and his officers were received with military honors by Kekuanaoa dressed in his general's uniform. The chiefs were present, as well as most of the missionary establishment. Mr. Bingham acted as interpreter.[42]

Captain Belcher gives the following account of this first interview:

"Finding remonstrance useless, and that their principal missionary leader, Mr. Bingham, evidently spoke in his own name as well as theirs, and therefore that they were not free agents, I ventured to acquaint them that stronger arguments must be resorted to, and I instantly ordered the brig to be recaptured, and the British colours re-hoisted.

"Mr. Bingham then ventured to show himself in his true colors, and intimating "that blood would flow from this act," I most distinctly assured him, "that having now ascertained his character, I should visit that threat on his head, and that his life should answer for the first drop of British blood which his agency should cause to flow." It is true that I did accompany that threat with my clinched fist, but totally false that any action of mine towards Kinau could be so construed. Indeed, I felt too much pity for her situation, and so far from the slightest animosity at that instant existing, she shook hands with me, and Kunoa, the husband, warmly pressed my hand at parting."[43]

Whilst the commander was thinking of sending an officer in La Clémentine to Maui, in order to request the immediate presence of the King, the French frigate La Vénus, made her appearance. This was on the morning of the 10th. Her commander, Captain Du Petit-Thouars, having been informed of the situation, requested that he might be allowed to act in conjunction.[44]

The same day the two officers had a fresh interview with Kinau and the chiefs, but finding them stubbornly determined on maintaining their acts, it was resolved to liberate the prisoners.

Consequently about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, a body of marines, in charge of an officer of the Sulphur, recaptured La Clémentine, hoisted the English flag, and landed the priests. They were met at the wharf by the commanders and the

41 Quoted in Suppliment to S. I. Mirror, 1840, p. 39.
42 Belcher, Narrative, I, p. 54.
43 Narrative, 1843, vol. I, p. 54.
44 Ibidem, p. 55.

naval officers, the consuls, a number of foreign residents and a crowd of natives, who triumphantly escorted them to their domicile.[45]

The recaptured Clémentine was dispatched the same evening to Maui, with a request to the King, that he would, if possible, repair to Honolulu, with as little delay as might be convenient.[46]

On receiving this dispatch, Kamehameha sent a vessel to fetch Kuakini, who was then on Hawaii, and when that chieftain had joined him, sailed for the capital, where he arrived on July the 20th.[47]

Meanwhile Father Bachelot had addressed the following memorial to the commander of the French man-of-war:

Honolulu, July 12, 1837.

Sir Commander:—

The undersigned, a French priest, finds himself obliged to call your attention to the conduct which the rulers of these islands have carried on in his regard. He exposes

That having established himself in these islands under the auspices of him who at his arrival was at the head of the government, he has exercised his ministry publicly and without restraint during 3 years and 9 months, although since the last 15 months this liberty has been restricted to strangers only.

That jointly with two mechanics, countrymen of his, he has defrayed the expenses of an habitation which notwithstanding its simplicity, has been appraised at over 30,000 francs, and which is the only one known here as the French establishment.

That without any pretext either known or alleged, other than that of being a Catholic priest, he has been taken from his residence, embarked upon a government vessel, without having been able to learn from the chief, to which corner of the earth they were to deport him, and clandestinely thrown upon a lonesome spot of the Californian coast;

That this clandestine landing in a country which was then in the throes of a political revolution, exposed him to real dangers, and caused him the disgrace of being treated by the Mexican government as a suspect and dangerous person;

That the author of his expulsion having departed this life, and the same's act against complainant necessarily having the same fate as those of Boki in his favor, which had been declared null and void after his demise, no law moreover before today having declared my exile to be perpetual; the King at the severe reproach addressed to him by the commander of La Bonite, regarding my expulsion and other subjects of complaint, having promised to protect without exception, every Frenchman, who would reside in these islands;

The undersigned has again presented himself here, from the first day declaring that he would remain only till an opportunity of sailing either to Valparaiso could be found, as in fact he already had made arrangements for a passage;

That on the 20th of May, he again had been taken away and thrown into the English brig La Clémentine, notwithstanding the opposition of her owner, who abandoned the vessel for that reason alone.

On the other side the undersigned states that the French mechanics, notwithstanding their good behavior which at all times has deserved them the universal esteem, have several times been threatened to be deprived of their habitation under the slightest pretexts.

After this statement, the undersigned begs of you, Sir Commander, to use your authority and mediation, in order that

1mo: The decree of expulsion confirmed by the King this last month of May, and the declaration that it was perpetual, may be revoked entirely, and henceforth be regarded as null and void:

2o: It will be allowed to the undersigned to inhabit these Islands with the same liberty and under the same conditions as other foreigners;

3o: That Religion never be made a pretext of vexation to the French either in their persons or property;

4o: That those who actually occupy the habitation called the French establish-

45 F. Short, Lettres Lithogr. I, p. 489; Suppliment S. I. Mirror, 1840, p. 41.
46 Belcher, Op. Cit. p. 54.
47 Ibidem, p. 56.

ment, may dispose of it at their own pleasure, having informed the authorities that reside on Oahu.

The undersigned has the honor of being respectfully,

Sir Commander,

Yours most humble servant.

f. J. A. A. Bachelot.[48]

On the day after the king's arrival, at noon, the captains of the Sulphur and the Vénus accompanied by their officers and the American and English consuls, repaired to the king's house, where they were received by the officers attendant on that prince in their state uniforms.

Captain Belcher gives the description of the conference.

"Before proceeding to business, both Captain Du Petit-Thouars and myself protested against the interpretation or interference of Mr. Bingham; indeed we requested his absence. This latter point was not conceded, and he took up a position where he could command the eye of the king; but the sharp glances of some of the officers of both ships were too powerful for him; and I believe something very much allied to menace from one of the lieutenants of the Vénus damped his ardour, as he spent the remainder of the time with his head between his hands nearly resting it on his knees.

"The questions at issue were—1st. The forcible entry of the Clémentine, and putting on board Messrs. Bachelot and Short.

2d. The rights of British subjects to reside at these islands so long as they conformed to the laws, as established by treaty of Lord Edward Russell.

This latter they endeavored to reject—indeed refused to acknowledge. The discussion of the merits of the case of Messrs. Short and Bachelot continued until four, when all the parties being exhausted, the king proposed an adjournment until the following morning.

The only object carried was the consent that Messrs. Short and Bachelot should remain unmolested until they could be removed, on the guarantees respectively of Captain Thouars and myself. The meeting was then adjourned."[49]

Mr. Bingham contributes the following incidents of that day's meeting:

"The king chose Mr. Bingham for interpreter, but Messrs. Charlton and Belcher refused him, and sent for Mr. Bachelot, whom they had put on shore contrary to the positive edicts of the king and chiefs, and brought him in without proper consent, to act as interpreter. When he had with difficulty interpreted a sentence for them into imperfect Hawaiian, which the king in a quiet time and from a welcome speaker could have understood,[50] he followed him with the forcible interrogation, "What?" The intruded interpreter labored through the sentence again, which was followed by the "What?" from the king. The interpreter increasing the energy of his voice if not the lucidness of his style, repeated his task; and the king, with increased self-possession, renewed his significant interrogatory, "What is it?"

Thus mildly rebuking the discourteousness of those who had attempted to obtrude on him one who trampled on his authority, and who was here in his dominions without his consent, he, in his turn refused to do business for them through the interpreter of their choice.

The obtruded priest, unsuccessful as interpreter, assumed the censor, and with some shrewdness, and not a little rudeness, said to the king, "You don't

48 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 42.

49 Op. Cit. pp. 57, 58.

50 Mr. Lorrin Andrews, who was also present at the meeting, says: "Mr. Bachelot gave the interpretation in Hawaiian in a passably correct manner."—Wyllie's Summary, p. 336.

understand me because you don't wish to." Thus ended his official service for the day.

By this time a foreign officer, whom, had it not been for the extreme boorishness of his manners, I should have taken for a lieutenant of the French navy, came and stared me malignantly in the face, placed his back against me, and crowded me back hard upon a sideboard against which I was quietly standing with folded arms. As I attempted to escape sideways from this incipient lynching, he suddenly wrenching his body either to prevent my escape or to consummate the outrage, gave me a blow with his elbow, which was chiefly warded from my breast by my still folded arms. His strange movements being perceived, one of the counsellors, John Ii, came and kindly placed himself between us and defeated his repeated attempts to approach me, for a time, as we stood behind the captains.

Another interpreter was called in, through whom the two captains and the British consul in vain attempted to gain the consent of the king to the residence or sojourn on shore of the two expelled priests. Mr. Andrews of our mission was at length employed as the fourth interpreter, as agreeable to both parties."[51]

The conference was resumed on the morrow at ten, and lasted till about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Captain Du Petit-Thouars gives an account of the result of the discussion in the following note to Father Bachelot:

On board La Vénus, 22 of July, 1837.

Sir:—

In conformity with your letter of the 12th of this month, I have assiduously busied myself with the various motives of complaint against the Government which you expose. I have made out a claim; and in the different conferences with the king assembled in council with the chiefs,

The government has explicitly acknowledged that it has not made use of the word exile regarding you, and that this was a wrong translation of the native word; but that, in fact, it had desired and did desire yet that you leave the country, because you are a Catholic priest, and that it does not wish any other religion preached to the natives. Since, in conformity with the law of nations, they have the right common to all governments in these matters, I cannot force them to allow you a residence, having no instruction nor power in this regard.

Besides having told them that you were going to Valparaiso, they insisted on your prompt departure; this I have opposed and it has been agreed that you will remain until a favorable occasion offers, and that I was to receive a guarantee that till then you will be neither annoyed nor molested.

On my side, in order to remove all doubts, I have been obliged to promise in your name that you will seize the first opportunity of leaving this country. The exchange of these documents has not taken place yet. Please, answer me, and tell me if it is convenient to you that the exchange takes place.

Please receive the new assurance of my high consideration.

The Capn of the Vessel
Commander of La Vénus,
A. Du Petit-Thouars.[52]

Father Bachelot having agreed to the arrangement proposed by the French commander, the exchange of the following documents took place.

Honolulu, 21st of July, 1837.

The undersigned Post Captain, Commandant of the French Frigate "La Vénus" promises in the name of M. Bachelot, that he will seize the first favorable opportunity which may offer to leave this Island, to go either to Lima, to Valparaiso, or to some other part of the civilized world; and that in case such an opportunity should not

51 A Residence, pp. 508, 509.
52 Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 44.

offer, he shall be embarked upon the first French man-of-war that may visit this Island. M. Bachelot in the meantime shall not preach.

A. Du Petit Thouars,
Post Captain Commanding the French Frigate "Vénus."

His Britannic Majesty's ship "Sulphur,"
Honolulu, 21st of July, 1837.

I, Edward Belcher, commanding His Britannic Majesty's ship "Sulphur," engage for Mr. Short that he will quit the island by the first favourable opportunity which offers, for Manila, Lima, Valparaiso, or other civilized part of the world, and that in the event of no opportunity offering before the arrival of a British vessel of war, he will be received on board of her. I further engage that he will not act contrary to the laws of the country.

Edward Belcher,
Commander of His Britannic Majesty's Ship "Sulphur,"
and senior officer of the British navy, present.

The clause in Captain Du Petit-Thouars' statement "Mr. Bachelot in the meantime shall not preach," seems to have been inserted on his own authority; at least, neither in his note to the Prefect-Apostolic nor in the latter's answer to the commander, is that stipulation mentioned.

The King on his part consented that the two priests should reside unmolested, at Honolulu, until a favorable opportunity offered to quit the country either for Manila, Valparaiso, Lima or other civilized portions of the world."[53]

Concerning the affair of La Clémentine no definite arrangement was reached. Kauikeaouli declared that "no obstructions would be offered to the Clémentine pursuing her voyage,"[54] whereupon Captain Belcher answered that "the insult offered to the flag of Great Britain by the forcible entry and making a prisonship of the Clémentine, together with the damages due to her owner for demurrage, loss of market, &c., was of too important nature for him to discuss, and that he was going to communicate these points without loss of time to his government."[55]

On the 24th, the following convention was entered into between France and the Sandwich Island government:

Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, 24 of July, 1837.

Convention between the King of the French, Louis Philippe the First, represented by A. Du Petit-Thouars, Captain of the Frigate the Venus, and the King of the Sandwich Islands, Kamehameha III:

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the French and the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands.

The French may go and come freely in all the states which compose the Government of the Sandwich Islands; they will be there received and protected, and they will enjoy the same advantages as the subjects of the most favored nation.

The subjects of the King of the Sandwich Islands may equally come to France; they will be there received and protected, as the most favored strangers.[56]

In the afternoon of the same day both men-of-war got under way and departed. Within a fortnight after their departure Father Short applied for a passage to Valparaiso on the schooner Henry Clay, but her captain answered that already having two passengers, it was quite impossible to take any more.[57]

53 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 287.

54 Belcher, Op. Cit. p. 58.

55 Wyllie's Historical Summary.—On the 9th of October, 1839, the Government of the Sandwich Islands granted to the proprietor of La Clementine an indemnity of $3000 for demurrage and other losses sustained. Mr. French received an indemnity of $2500. Cf. Perrin's Historical Memorandum, p. 240; Letter of F. Short, Oct. 26, 1839, Arch. C. M. Honolulu, V. D. 84.

56 Govt. Archives, Honolulu.

57 Letter of Capt. D. Gilman, Aug. 10, 1837.

On the 24th of September the British frigate Imogene arrived in Honolulu harbor. The chiefs took an early occasion to ask her commander for the removal of the Catholic missionaries, and consequently Captain Bruce declared himself willing to redeem Captain Belcher's pledge by providing Father Short a passage on his vessel.

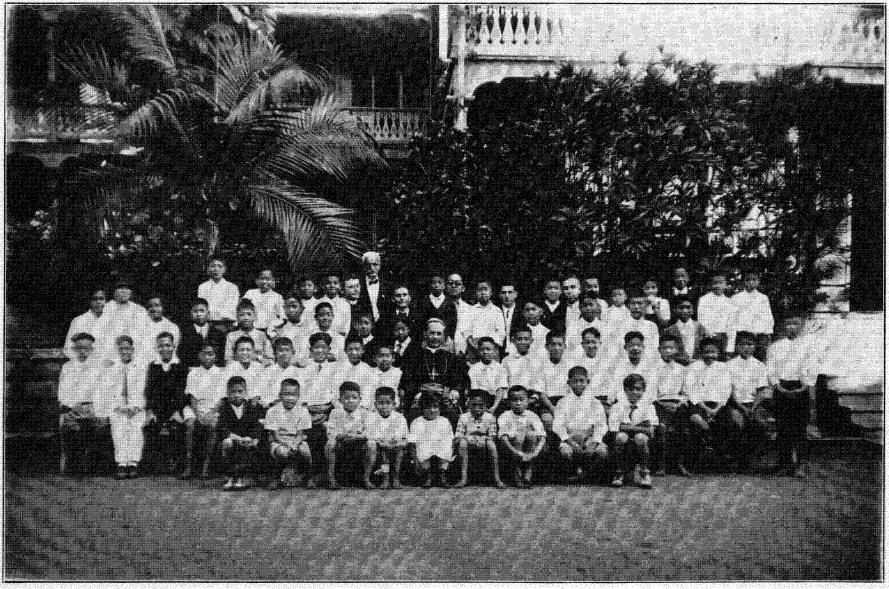
But this gentleman having previously applied to the firm Peirce & Brewer for a passage on their vessel, the Peru, declined the captain's offer. He left Honolulu in the Peru on October 30, and after a short stay at Tahiti, arrived at Valparaiso in the course of January of the ensuing year.[58]

Father Bachelot remained behind intending to embark on a schooner, the near arrival of which had been announced. Father Walsh says that he wished to go to the Marquesas, "to which mission Mgr. Rouchouze had appointed him, should the entrance of the Sandwich Islands prove irrealizable."[59]

But this seems not to be exact, since Mgr. Rouchouze himself wrote to Father Bachelot under date of November 15, 1837, "I reiterate here, what I already must have written you, and what Mr. Maigret must have told you by word of mouth, that I cannot accept your demission. My faculties do not allow me to appoints Prefects; hence I cannot receive their resignation. If I knew that you were writing to Rome, I would oppose you. In name of your neophytes, these confessors of the faith, do never take such a step." The Bishop says in the same letter concerning the Marquesas: "I think of the mission to the Marquesas Islands, but I cannot undertake it before the return of Father Caret."

However, a few days after Father Short's departure, just when the chiefs might think that their difficulties were being in a fair way of solution, the schooner Europa entered the roadstead with two other Catholic priests on board, and became a source of fresh annoyance to the native rulers.

58 Sandw. Isl. Gazette, Nov. 4, 1837.
59 Letter to Father Jean de la Croix Amat, Jan. 15, 1838.



BISHOP STEPHEN ALENCASTRE AND GROUP OF JAPANESE CONVERTS

FATHER MAIGRET AT THE GRAVE OF FATHER BACHELOT

Reproduction of a wood cut in the supplement to the Sandwich Islands Gazette

KIMEONE

Reproduction of wood cut in supplement to the Sandwich Islands Gazette

MALIA MAKALENA KAHA

Reproduction of a wood cut in supplement to the Sandwich Islands Gazette

JULIANA MAKUWAHINE

Reproduction of a wood cut in the supplement to the Sandwich Islands Gazette

CHAPTER X.

Death of Father Bachelot

FF. Caret and Maigret at Valparaiso.—Mgr. Pompalier.—Ordination of F. Columba Murphy.—FF. Maigret and Murphy for Hawaii.—F. Maigret refused a landing.—Consular Intervention in Vain.—A Question of Veracity.—The "Honolulu" Bought.—FF. Bachelot and Maigret sail for Ponape.—Sickness of F. Bachelot.—His Death.—F. Maigret on Ponape.—The Last Resting Place of F. Bachelot.

In the beginning of the year 1837 Mgr. Rouchouze had sent two of his missionaries, Fathers Caret and Maigret, to Valparaiso, there to employ themselves in the concerns of the mission[1] and especially to complain before the representatives of the French government of the ill treatments Frenchmen received at Tahiti.[2]

Having arrived at that port March 22, they had frequent interviews with the French naval commanders and the staff of the French consulate. A fortnight after their arrival they received news from Father Bachelot, who, writing from San Gabriel, acquainted them with his design of making a new effort to enter the Hawaiian Islands.[3]

It was the intention of the two ecclesiastics to expedite their business at Valparaiso with the utmost diligence, and to return to Gambier by the first opportunity.[4] But the intelligence that the man-of-war, Flore, then in the port, was soon to sail for France, caused them to change their plans. On the 4th of May it was resolved that Father Caret was to go with her; he accordingly left two days later.[5]

News had reached Valparaiso of the approaching arrival of Mgr. Pompalier, newly appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Western Oceanica, who, on the voyage of his mission, was expected to call at Mangareva. Father Maigret purposed to return in his company to his own field of labor.

Having arrived in the latter part of June, accompanied by several missionaries of the Society of Mary, the Bishop chartered the vessel "Europa" which was soon to sail for Gambier, Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands.

The Europa cut her moorings on August the 10th. She had on board Mgr. Pompalier, three priests and three laybrothers of the above mentioned society, with three members of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts: Father Maigret, Father Guilmard, and Brother Columba Murphy.[6]

On September 13th, the party arrived safely at Akena, one of the Gambier Islands, where Bishop Rouchouze made his residence.

In the early morning of the 15th, Brother Columba was ordained a priest by Bishop Rouchouze, Father Maigret being the only witness of the ceremony.

Father Laval in his "Mémoires pour servir à l'Historie de Magaréva," ch. XII, p. 560, gives the reasons for this singular proceedings: "At this occurrence," he says, "Brother Columba was ordained priest without anybody knowing about it, except Mgr. of Nilopolis and his pro-vicar, Father D. Maigret. His Lordship

1 F. Caret, Annales Prop. Foi, X, pp. 229, 230.
2 Letter of Nilopolis to Bachelot, June 27, 1837.
3 Maigret's Journal, March-April, 1837.
4 F. Caret, Annales Prop. Foi, X, p. 234.
5 Maigret's Journal.
6 Maigret's Journal, July-August, 1837.

proceeded thus secretly that the ordination performed at Taravai in the presence of but one witness, might not become public, and cause the object to fail which Mgr. of Nilopolis had in view, in succoring the Sandwich Islands without bringing upon M. Murphy the suspicion of being a priest. The only Irish priest, Father Walsh, who was then at the Sandwich Islands, could by this means go to confession, without drawing a new persecution on his collaborator."

After a brief stay the Europa continued her voyage via Tahiti to Hawaii, where it was hoped that a passage could be secured on some vessel bound for the island of Ponape, which was nearly in the center of Mgr. Pompalier's extensive vicariate, or else for New Zealand.

To travelers of the twentieth century the Bishop's itinerary seems absurd. But in the first half of the nineteenth century direct communication between the distant ports of the Pacific Ocean was very rare. Sometimes a regular cruise had to be performed ere a ship could be found destined for the desired harbor.

When the missionaries were at Valparaiso, only one vessel was found to be bound for New Zealand; but the captain, an American Protestant, refused to carry thither any Catholic priests.[7]

As the Vicar-Apostolic of Eastern Oceania heard that his colleague in the episcopate was to go to the Sandwich Islands, there to wait for an opportunity to proceed to his mission, he at once determined to send Fathers Maigret and Murphy in his company, that they might try to obtain a residence there, in case Fathers Bachelot and Short were again refused a landing on account of their former expulsion.

At Tahiti, where this time the missionaries were allowed to come ashore, they were told by the American consul, Mr. Moerenhout, that he had just bought the brig Raiatea, which he was willing to put at the disposal of the Bishop at $400 a month. Thus seeing a way open to reach his mission directly, Mgr. Pompalier resolved not to continue his voyage to Hawaii, but to sail immediately for Ponape.[8]

Whilst at Tahiti, Father Maigret received intelligence concerning the failure of Father Bachelot's bold undertaking at Honolulu. He determined to try nevertheless if, not having the disadvantage of a former expulsion, he might perhaps effectuate a landing on the strength of the French convention.[9]

The Europa weighed anchor on the 6th of October. During the trip, as was his custom, Father Maigret busied himself with literary occupation. Besides composing a Mangareva dictionary of the Gospel according to St. Luke, he applied himself daily to the study of the Hawaiian language. After an uneventful voyage of less than a month, the Europa cast anchor in Honolulu roadstead.[10]

The news of the probable arrival of Catholic missionaries had been conveyed to Hawaii by the British man-of-war Imogene, which sailed from Valparaiso a few days before the Europa.[11]

As soon as the vessel was decried from the harbor, a pilot was sent aboard with an order forbidding her to enter. The captain was however permitted to go ashore in order to make his representations.[12] Soon Kekuanaoa, Kinau's husband, came on board, and asked to be certified in writing that the "missionaries would

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7 Mgr. Pompalier, Ann. Prop. Foi, X, p. 237.
8 Mgr. Pompalier, Annales Prop. Foi, X, p. 418.
9 F. Walsh, Letter of Jan. 25, 1838.
10 F. Maigret's Journal, Oct. 1837.
11 Letter of F. Maigret, Jan. 16, 1839. Lettres Lith. I, p. 497.
12 Ibidem.

not preach the Papal doctrines, nor officiate according to the Catholic rites, and that they did not know the teachings of the Pope."[13]

Considering the absurdity of the third question and Father Maigret's slight acquaintance with the Hawaiian tongue, it is doubtful whether he rightly caught the meaning of the governor's questions. No Catholic priest certainly could conscientiously sign a thus formulated pledge. The Fathers consequently confined themselves to the following declaration:

"The undersigned, passengers on board the Europa, promise not to interfere with the laws and regulations of the Sandwich Islands during their sojourn, and to leave the islands the first favorable opportunity.

J. C. MURPHY.[14]
L. MAIGRET.

Shortly afterwards Kinau returned the following reply:

Salutations to you L. Maigret and J. C. Murphy on board the ship Europa. I received your writing today and have seen what you have made known, but you have not stated definitely to me in the writing what countrymen you are and what your employments and how long you wish to stay. You have not informed me in your writing to what country you wish to go by the first favorable opportunity.

On this account I request you to make a clear statement of these points in writing, and if you or either of you are priests of the religion of the pope or of any other office, make it known to me, do not hide it from me, for this is the only reason why I hesitate to allow you to land. I do not desire propagators of that religion to dwell here, that is tabu.

By me Kaahumanu II.[15]

Honolulu, Nov. 2, 1837.

The next morning Mr. Dudoit brought the following answer to the premier, in which the Father refrains from replying to the question concerning his priesthood:

Oahu, Nov. 3, 1837.

This certifies that I, Louis Maigret, a Frenchman, came on board the ship Europa as passenger at Valparaiso, and my object was to remain here until I could get a passage to the Marquesas or the Dangerous Archipelago Islands, and that I will conform to the laws and regulations of Government at all times.

L. MAIGRET.[16]

Mr. Murphy, who did not wish either to disclose the secret of his ordination or spoil his chance of a landing by an explicit answer, did not make any reply; and on the declaration of the British consul that he was not a priest, he was allowed to land.[17]

Having perused Father Maigret's letter, Kinau earnestly inquired of Mr. Dudoit if its writer was a priest, and the French agent admitted that he was. She said he had concealed that fact; whereupon Mr. Dudoit said that M. Maigret told him he was afraid he should not be permitted to land if it were known that he was a priest.[18]

In vain the consular agent insisted that his countryman, on the strength of the French convention, had a right to come ashore, without furnishing bail as Kinau required. When he could not obtain his demand, he said he would renew his request in writing, and asked her to answer him in the same way, that he might communicate those documents to the government of France.

13 Maigret's Journal, Nov. 2-3.
14 Bingham, A Residence, p. 512.
15 Ibidem.
16 Ibidem.
17 Ibidem, p. 513.
18 Ibidem,—and Dibble, History of the Sandw. Isl. 1909, p. 337.

Three days later he addressed her consequently with a lengthy memorial in the French language,[19] to which she replied as follows:

Salutations to you, M. Dudoit.

I have seen your letter of November 6th, translated into Hawaiian. Allow me to make known to you my determination, and that of my king, ever to dwell in peace with the people of France, and England, and America, and other lands, in conformity with the treaties and with justice, as far as we know it.

We protect all strangers, but on account of former difficulties, and dissensions, our minds are made up not to consent that Roman Catholic priests come here, from any country. In accordance with this, the captain of a former man-of-war, M. Vaillant by name, gave his approval to Kauikeaouli, the king, likewise the commodore (A. Du Petit-Thouars) at the time of the signing of the treaty. My king said to him, 'I will allow all other persons to come, but priests of the Roman Catholic religion. I shall not allow them.' He replied, 'That is as you please.'

Moreover I make known to you this respecting the Romish priest Maigret. He concealed from me his country, and his being a priest, as though he wished to land privately and dwell, and we could not remove him. And when he could no longer conceal, he stated that he was a Frenchman wishing to go to the Marquesas. We know, however, that vessels do not sail direct from these Islands to the Marquesas, and if they do, they usual touch at the Societies, (Kahiki) whence he has come. I cannot therefore by any means confide in his word. You have done well by intervening, but you have informed me that you could not guarantee with certainty that he will go away in a French man-of-war, in case you could obtain no other opportunity for him.

Moreover, I will make known to you this in an earnest and pleasant manner. If you have the power to do the thing, I beg you will put Bachelot on board the ship Europa, about to sail for China, that he may leave the country agreeably to the word of the commodore. If the Governments of France, and England, and America desire the peace and quiet of my country and my king, they will allow us to enforce our laws prohibiting the priests of the Roman Catholic religion.

This is my reply to your letter, moreover, let M. Maigret go away in the ship in which he came, and you will please make known my letter to the Government of France with kindness.

By authority of the King,
KAAHUMANU II.[20]

Honolulu, Nov. 8th, 1837.

To refute Kinau's accusation of his having concealed his country and his priesthood, Father Maigret signed on the 15th an affidavit suggested to him two days before by the British consul:

I, Louis Maigret, do hereby make oath that I never attempted to conceal from the authorities at the Sandwich Islands that I was a priest, nor did I ever directly endeavour to make it appear that I was not a subject of France.

Sworn to on board the
ship Europa at Woahu
this 15th day of November 1837
before me His British Majesty's Consul at the Sandwich Islands.[21]

The charge that Father Maigret should have tried to conceal his nationality appears to be entirely without foundation. By his reserve, he has laid himself open to the second imputation. How then can we justify his affidavit?

Whatever alleged right the Chiefs of the Sandwich Islands may have had under the Law of Nations to refuse a residence and permission to preach to Catholic priests, such right can but be considered an encroachment of the civil government on the inalienable rights of their subjects to freedom of conscience,

19 Arch. Cath. Mission, V. D. 58a.
20 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 293.
21 Maigret's Journal, Nov. 1837.

and of the divine right and duty of the ministers of the Gospel to preach it to all nations.

The question asked by the rulers, if Father Maigret was a Catholic priest and if he intended to spread his doctrine, was none of their legitimate concern, and hence he was not obliged to answer it. He may therefore have reasoned that he could not be said to have concealed what he was not obliged to reveal.

The pro-vicar himself gives the following account of the incident:

"Sometime afterwards the governor of the fort came on board. They deceived him; and permission to enter was granted. But as everybody on board knew very well who I was, and as I had made no secret of it to anybody, the Governor soon found out that he had been deceived. Then he told somebody to ask me to what nation I belonged and if I was a priest. I answered at once, and did not hide anything. My frankness was displeasing to them. Nevertheless, the Government pretended to believe that I had connived with those that had deceived it, and this was one of the reasons why I was forbidden to go ashore. I protested; I even thought it necessary to swear that I never denied my country, nor had taken any step to conceal to the government of the Sandwich Islands my quality of priest and missionary. It was all in vain."[22]

The vessel which Father Bachelot was waiting for to go to the South Seas, failed to appear. It became imperative to extricate both M. Maigret and the captain who had brought him along from a difficult situation; for the former had no more desire of going to China, for which country the vessel was bound, than the latter had of retracing his voyage. Father Bachelot accordingly decided to accept an offer made by M. Dudoit and purchased the schooner Honolulu, belonging to that gentleman and then lying in port. The price, $3000, was to be paid in two instalments: $1000 at Honolulu, and the remaining $2000, a month after the termination of the voyage.

The Honolulu was to disembark the two missionaries at Ponape, thence continue her trip towards the south, and returning about July or August, retake them on board, bringing them via Gambier to Valparaiso, where the schooner was to be delivered to her new owners.[23]

They rechristened the vessel "Notre Dame de Paix," and on Nov. 17th, Father Maigret was allowed to pass on board. This permission was granted only after M. Dudoit had promised to pay a fine if M. Maigret should land afterwards without the government's authorization.[24]

The Notre Dame de Paix left Honolulu on the morning of the 23d of November. There is an oral tradition that on leaving the Mission premises on his way to the vessel, Father Bachelot casting a last glance on the algaroba tree he had planted a few months after his first arrival, he addressed the group of faithful surrounding him, and uttered the following prophetic words: "Like this tree has grown and spread, so will the Catholic religion grow and spread in these Islands." Father Bachelot was in ill health at the time of sailing. Lately he had sufficiently recovered from a long sickness to be able to pay several visits to his colleague on board the Europa.[25] But they had not been twenty-four hours at sea when he fell sick again and in a short time became confused in his ideas. He fancied he saw and heard the most strange things, and wished to be moved continually from one place to the other; the last words which his companion heard him pronounce, before he fell into this state of delirium, were those in which he made a sacrifice of his life to God, and expressed a wish to see, before dying, His Lordship of Nilopolis. During the whole time the delirium

22 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 497.

lasted, he kept talking incessantly: at one time he fancied himself in the presence of his persecutors, and addressed them with the most solemn truths: at other times he seemed to converse with his dear neophytes. On the 4th of December, Father Maigret administered to him the Last Sacraments, and from time to time addressed to him a few words of consolation and encouragement, which he appeared to understand. His hands were joined over his breast, his countenance calm and serene; his lips were in constant motion, reciting, no doubt, some of the prayers which he himself had so often suggested at the deathbed of a Christian. Having recited the prayers for the agonizing, his traveling companion received his last sigh at two o'clock in the morning on the 5th of December.

The ship was then at longitude 176° 33′ East and latitude 13° 14′ North. On the 13th they arrived off Ponape, and on the following day, the remains of the first Apostle of the Sandwich Islands were interred in the little island Na, (or Napali) near the mouth of the Metalanim harbor. The body was borne by two natives from the Sandwich Islands, and two from Tahiti.[26]

The chieftain of Metalanim, the eastern district of Ponape, who just then resided on Na, received Father Maigret with the greatest hospitality. He had a hut constructed for him near the grave of his companion, and sent him repeatedly abundant provisions of breadfruits, yams, and fish.[27]

On Christmas Father Maigret offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time since his landing, in his little shanty; which he continued to do on Sundays and feastdays, but always in a strictly private manner.

On February the 2d, 1838, feast of the Visitation, the queen with some other natives assisted, and the priest, who, since the departure of the Notre Dame de Paix, had diligently applied himself to the study of the native tongue, addressed them on the unity of God and the Creation. Somewhat earlier he had a long conversation with the *ichipau*[28] on the principal mysteries of the Christian religion, at which the chieftain had shown feelings of admiration and fear, and manifested a desire to receive more information on those subjects; however, at that time the missionary's knowledge of the language was too limited for more elaborate instructions. But through continual intercourse with the natives he soon obtained a greater facility of expression, and he succeeded in composing some short prayers for the use of his hearers.

The journal tells us in pithy sentences of his consolations and drawbacks, of his occupations and little adventures whilst on Na.

On the 7th of February we are told: "I have cut ten trees of 30 to 40 feet. The king and the royal family seem to be sulking. They do not bring me anything. Were it not for a provision of yams M. Corgat[29] has lately sent me, I would starve to death."

During the month of March the entries are rather more cheerful.

March 1:—"Visit of the king; abundance again. Cut and sawed three trees, which will give me ten posts."

March 4:—"I have taught the following prayers to some children: (follows the prayer, which seems to consist of some invocations in honor of the Blessed Trinity.)"

March 5:—"Visit of the Court. Spoke of God; taught the prayer."

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26 F. Maigret, Letter of Jan. 16, 1839.

27 The details concerning F. Maigret's sojourn on Na, are taken from his journal.

28 Title given to the four independent chiefs of Ponape.

29 M. Corgat was a Frenchman who had arrived there a few years earlier; he acted as pilot, and seems not to have shared the beachcomber's usual dislike for missionaries. See: Luther Halsey Gulick by F. G. Jewett, p. 127.

March 6:—"Visit of the king and queen; they know the prayer I taught them yesterday. They know moreover the days of the week, which they pronounce about as we do."

March 8:—"The king sends me fish enough for 50 persons."

Now comes an entry which is perhaps more indicative of optimism in the preacher than of religiousness in the catechumens.

March 12:—"Several persons begin to sanctify the Sunday. Yesterday some of my neighbors did not work."

But whatever progress the natives may have been making in Christianity, the sickness of a child named Lapalik, appears to have been seized upon as a pretext for very un-christian carousals. For on the 6th of April the journal registers the following statement:

"Lapalik ill. Lekant (the queen) is drinking lots of *jako* and rendering oracles."[30]

And again two days later:

"They are still drinking jako. The devil is at work."

The next day the priest tried in vain to influence the chiefs:

"Received the visit of the king. I rebuked him for being still so attached to his superstitions; I also remostrated with the queen. They offered me jako to drink. I refused. One of the priests says that it is very good; I answered him that it is very bad, and I left the house."

Several items show the missionary as cutting timber or making posts; and one wonders what construction he is planning. Finally on the 11th of April, the preparations are finished and we are informed on successive days:

"I begin the tomb of M. Alexis (F. Bachelot); 12 sq. feet."

"I made a cross of 16 feet high."

"I erected my cross."

"Begin a small chapel contiguous to the grave."

Towards the middle of May his chapel is so far completed that he can erect the cross on the top of it. He profits by the occasion to explain to the assistants the mystery of the Cross.

About a month later mention is made of an occurrence which intimates Father Maigret's strong moral sense:

"I have wrongly accused a child of having stolen my scissors. I became aware of his innocence, and gave him the thing which I had accused him of having stolen."

During all this time the work on the mortuary chapel went on. However, it needed roofing, and at the request of the architect and builder, the natives helped him to cover it towards the end of June. It was time for this humble mausoleum to be finished, for on July 2d, the Notre Dame de Paix returned from her long cruise.

It took the captain nearly a month to get ready for the new journey. On July 29 the ship weighed her anchors, and it was not before December 22, that she reached Valparaiso, the end of her long voyage.

Thus finished the second attempt to introduce the Catholic religion in the Hawaiian archipelago. Although unsuccessful, it precipitated the crisis which was to bring liberty of conscience even to these distant isles of the Great Pacific.

30 Jako or Chakau is the Ponapean word for awa, an intoxicating beverage made from the Piper methysticum.

Notwithstanding the pains Father Maigret had taken to mark the last resting place of the first Catholic priest who preached the Gospel in the Northern Pacific, the exact spot can no longer be found.

In 1859 probably, a Protestant missionary of Hawaiian birth, the Rev. Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, planted a coconut tree on the grave of the man, who, though under another banner, had struggled for the honor of the same Master.

In the *Friend* of February, 1860, he gives the following account of this occurrence:

A few weeks since I planted a foreign cocoanut on the grave of the Rev. Mr. Bachelot, who died in 183—, on his way from the Sandwich Islands to Ascension, in company with the present Roman Catholic Bishop of the Sandwich Islands. He was buried in a dense cocoanut grove on the island of Na, near the mouth of the weather or Metalanim harbor. Though differing widely from him in religious faith, and condemning much in his missionary life, I respect his zeal, and most especially desire to honor his devotion to the enterprise of spreading Christianity. Had his successors followed up their work in Micronesia rather than at the Sandwich Islands, this field would ere this have undoubtedly been their own, in all its extent."

Today no traces are left either of this foreign coconut or of the mortuary chapel. All the trees in the district Panjap-en-Panmei were in 1905 plucked up by the roots and swept away by a hurricane.

The Rev. Father Crescenz O. Cap. of the Ponape Mission, who in 1909 searched the little island in company with a Protestant chieftain, only found the remnants of two wells which Father Maigret had made there during his sojourn; other vestiges of the little missionary establishment could not be discovered. He met, however, with a native, the son of a Mangarevian boy who used to do service as Father Maigret's cook on Na. This man affirmed that in the district Banjap-en-Panmei had stood the missionary's dwelling place.[31]

31 Letter of Rev. Father Crescenz O. Cap. March 4, 1909.

CHAPTER XI.

The Death-Spasms of Persecution

An Ordinance Rejecting the Catholic Religion.—The Protestant Revival.—Prohibition Laws.—On the Crime of Smoking Tobacco.—Anent Baptism and Confession as Practiced in the Protestant Churches.—More Persecution.—The Affair of the Albatross.—F. Walsh's Literary Activity.—H.B.M. Ship the Fly.—A Greek Orthodox Funeral.—Translation of the Bible.—Death of Kinau.—The 67 Waianae Catholics.—A Change of Hearts.—The Last Confessors.

At the time of the departure of Fathers Bachelot and Maigret no law existed in the Sandwich Islands forbidding Catholic priests to reside there, although Kaahumanu and the King had often expressed their unwillingness to admit them into their kingdom.

It was therefore resolved to make a law, the aim of which it was to prevent any further difficulties of the kind such as had been experienced in regard to Messrs. Bachelot, Short and Maigret. In accordance with this, the following document was issued from the Lahainaluna Seminary press.

AN ORDINANCE

Rejecting the Catholic Religion

As we have seen the peculiarities of the Catholic religion and the proceedings of the priests of the Roman faith to be calculated to set man against man in our kingdom, and as we formerly saw that disturbance was made in the time of Kaahumanu I, and as it was on this account that the priests of the Romish faith were at that time banished and sent away from this kingdom, and as from that time they have been under sentence of banishment until within this past year when we have been brought into new and increased trouble on account of those who follow the Pope; and as our determination to keep away such persons is by no means recent, and also on account of the requests of foreigners that we make it known in writing, Therefore, I, with my chiefs, forbid, by this document that any one should teach the peculiarities of the Pope's religion, nor shall it be allowed to any one who teaches those doctrines or those peculiarities to reside in this kingdom; nor shall the ceremonies be exhibited in our kingdom, nor shall any one teaching its peculiarities or its faith be permitted to land on these shores; for it is not proper that two religions be found in this small kingdom. Therefore we utterly refuse to allow anyone to teach those peculiarities in any manner whatsoever. We moreover prohibit all vessels whatsoever from bringing any teacher of that religion into this kingdom.

Any vessel that shall bring here a teacher of the Pope's religion or of anything similar, and wishes to enter the harbor on business, may enter, subject however to these regulations, viz. there shall be no teacher from on board his ship be by any means permitted to come ashore, because all such have been strictly prohibited from this Kingdom. And if any such teacher should come ashore, he shall be seized and returned to the vessel which he left. And the vessel in which he came shall not leave, except he shall sail with it.

And if any shall come on shore without liberty and shall be concealed until the vessel in which he came shall have sailed and afterwards shall be discovered, he shall remain a prisoner until a proper vessel can be obtained for him to return and then he shall go after having paid to the chiefs a fine at their discretion.

But if it should be impossible for the said person to dwell on board, it shall be permitted him in writing to dwell for a season on shore, on his giving bonds and security for the protection of the kingdom.

If the master of the vessel shall refuse to obey this law and shall set on shore the teacher prohibited by this act, in contempt of the government, then the vessel shall be forfeited to the chiefs of these islands and become theirs, and the cargo on board the vessel shall likewise become theirs, and the master shall pay the sum of ten thousand dollars, but it may be optional with the chiefs to remit any part of the sum.

Moreover if the stranger shall present himself as a mechanic, a merchant or of any other business, and it shall be granted him to reside here, and afterwards he shall be found teaching the doctrine of the Pope or any thing else whereby this kingdom shall be disturbed, this law shall be in force against him and he may be retained a prisoner or banished, after he shall have paid a fine at the discretion of the chiefs.

That this law may be extensively known, it shall be printed and published, and on the arrival of a vessel, it shall be the duty of the Pilot to carry with him this law and give it to the master of the vessel that he may not be ignorant of the law. And if the law is not shown to the master of the vessel by the Pilot and any prohibited person come ashore because the Pilot did not show this law to the master of the vessel, the Pilot shall pay to the chiefs one hundred dollars; and the person who left the vessel shall be returned on board again.

If any one, either foreigner or native, shall be found assisting another, in teaching the doctrine of the Pope's religion, he shall pay to the government a fine of one hundred dollars for every such offense.

KAMEHAMEHA III.

Lahaina, Maui,
December 18, 1837.

By this ordinance Congregationalism was incidentally made the religion of the State, and to natives and foreigners no choice was left but between that particular brand of Protestantism and some broad Deism.

To enforce this ordinance the huts of the natives were frequently searched, and if any were detected in the exercise of Catholic devotions, they were dragged either to the Protestant churches or before the governor.[1]

On the 1st of January, 1838, a party of six neophytes was thus obliged to attend the Protestant services. One of them, a woman, was taken to Rev. Mr. Bingham, who had sense enough to dismiss her.

To escape even this material participation in religious services which their conscience held in abhorrence, the Catholics left for the distant district of Waianae, where the chief was friendly disposed. For a few months they were suffered to remain there in peace.[2]

About this time the Protestant churches in the group experienced an important revival. The first impulse seems to have come from Rev. Titus Coan, a truly zealous missionary who was then gaining converts for his church by the hundreds.

In a letter dated Dec. 25, 1837, to his friend and colleague, Lorenzo Lyons, he writes: "Our meetings are more and more crowded. I preach and talk to multitudes every day. One hundred will probably be added to this church on the first sabbath in January. Let 1838 be a year of Jubilee to these islands. . . "[3]

The idea was eagerly caught by the missionaries throughout the group. They held protracted meetings "and insisted largely on the cardinal points, the ruined condition of the sinner and his exposure to everlasting death."[4]

The result of this awakening was, according to Bingham, that "in midsummer the aggregate additions to the churches were equal to the three thousand added at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and the two thousand immediately after, and that 2,400 more had also been propounded for admission."[5]

The missionaries profited by this state of religious excitement to obtain from the chiefs the promulgation of several prohibition laws. One, dated March 13, 1838, warned the foreigners that six months after date, all grogshops but two were to be closed. Only a week later a law regulating the sale of ardent spirits prohibited the selling of spirits by any person whomsoever without written license,

1 Jarves, History, p. 317; Journal of Bro. Melchior, Lettres Lith. I, p. 469-471.
2 Journal of Bro. Melchior, Lettres Lith. I, pp. 471, 472.
3 Titus Coan, A Memorial, by Mrs. Lydia Bingham Coan, p. 43.
4 Bingham, A Residence, p. 521.
5 A Residence, p. 521.

providing however that any person selling spirits by the barrel would not be amenable to the law. Father Walsh states that on account of this ordinance, the sale of liquors greatly increased, through the ingenuity of certain foreigners who made barrels of very small size, escaping thereby the necessity of getting a license for retailing spirits.[6]

The fourth clause of this law was better devised. It imposed a fine of $10 for the saloon keeper at whose house a man got drunk, the fine being increased by the addition of $10 for every repetition.

When it was seen that these laws did not obtain the wished-for results, a more stringent one was promulgated August 21, 1838, absolutely prohibiting the importation of all distilled spirits.

The missionaries also opposed strongly, but perhaps less judiciously, the use of tobacco and coffee. The smoker of tobacco was excommunicated from church membership, and stranger yet, he was written up, together with the drinker of spirits, to the place which is the habitat of burning spirits, and from whence everlasting smoke ascends.

Says the *Kumu Hawaii*: "Where are you, smoker of tobacco, and drinker of rum, and you who drink awa, and the distillations of the sugarcane, the banana, the soured potatoes, of vine, and of soured breadfruit. Repent quickly, at present, do not procrastinate, do not hesitate, do not doubt, do not be indifferent, do not be thoughtless. Arise and watch! And if you do not repent, lo! you will die, your body and soul will descend together into the inextinguishable fire."[7]

This severity was inexplicable, even to the editor of the Missionary Herald, who, when publishing a report that mentioned the smoking of tobacco as a case which called for the discipline of the church, tries to allay the expected stupefaction of his readers by this footnote:

"The manner of smoking is such as to produce actual intoxication and is regarded as a vice similar to the intemperate use of intoxicating drinks in this country."[8]

This violent opposition of the early Protestant missionaries to the use of the fragrant weed must be kept in mind, when we hear them qualify both Father Walsh and his converts as "men of low habits."

Father Walsh relates[9] that on May 7, the missionaries declared that all should be baptized and that they also established a kind of public confession in which each native accused himself of some fault, in presence of the congregation.

To understand subsequent controversies about the validity of the baptism administered by the Boston missionaries, and of certain marriages performed by them, we must contrast the views of the Presbyterian and Catholic Churches on the former of the two Sacraments.

The Catholic Church holds that Baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation, and requires to its validity, besides the intention of doing what the Church does, the actual pouring of, sprinkling of, or immersion in water, accompanied by the words: I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

The Protestant ministers of Hawaii on the other hand, held that baptism is by no means necessary to salvation,[10] and that it did not impart sanctifying grace to

6 Letter to Mgr. of Nilopolis, Jan. 22, 1838.
7 Kumu Hawaii, Buke 3, Pepa 20.
8 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 249. Kotzebue also says: This custom (of smoking) has become so general in the Sandwich Islands . . . . that young children smoke before they learn to walk, and grown-up people have carried it to such an excess, that they have fallen down senseless, and often died in consequence." A Voyage of Discovery, 1821, vol. I, p. 306.
9 Annales Prop. Foi, 1840, p. 255; Engl. Edit. p. 364.
10 Titus Coan, Life in Hawaii, p. 56.

the soul.[11] Even had they attached to the Baptism ceremony the same meaning as the Catholic Church, their mode of administering it made it invalid in the eyes of Catholics.

Rev. Mr. Coan thus tells us how he proceeded in administering this sacrament:

"From my pocket list of about three thousand, 1705 were selected to be baptized and received to the communion of the church on the first sabbath of July 1838. . . . . From my roll the names in the first class were called one by one, and I saw each individual seated against the wall, and so of the second, and thus until the first row was formed. Thus row after row was extended the whole length of the house, leaving space for one to pass between these lines. . . . . .

"After this with a basin of water, I passed back and forth between the lines, sprinkling each individual until all were baptized. Standing in the center of the congregation, I pronounced the words: I baptize you all in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen."[12]

On account of the separation between the act of baptizing and the pronunciation of the formula, this mode of proceeding is considered by Catholics as invalidating the Sacrament.

Father Walsh's imputation as to the practice of confession has been denied in the Polynesian, 1841, Oct. 23, where Mr. S. N. Castle says: "We can form no conjecture as to the origin of the latter (assertion) concerning confession, absolution, &c. . . . . "

The frequent use of the word "confession" by the Sandwich Island missionaries in their descriptions of the revival, in a sense unfamiliar to Catholics, may have misled Father Walsh. A sort of public confession seems nevertheless to have been in use, although perhaps not in all the districts.

Mr. Thurston, a missionary stationed at Kailua, writes to the Missionary Herald (1840, p. 229): "The Spirit of God is evidently moving the hearts of the people. They are waking up in almost every direction and are coming out from their hiding places, and with streaming eyes *are confessing their sins,* with a determination to forsake them, and with resolutions to serve the Lord in future."

Bingham says of the young princess, Naahienaena, that on her deathbed she was induced *to confess her sin and folly;*[13] and of an apostate to the Catholic religion he says: "His conforming to the instructions of their Romish teachers he has distinctly *confessed as the sin* of idolatry *before our whole congregation* lately, as freely and as penitently, to all appearances, as any sin or folly of his heathen life."[14]

Besides "meetings for those under church censure" which the Rev. Mr. Coan mentions, point somewhat in the same direction.[15] And although the last mentioned missionary expressly states that no atonement for sin was made by these public avowals, he tells of a young man that had disturbed the services: "He became sober, confessed his sins, and in due time united with the church."[16]

However, the fire of persecution that had been smothering for some time for want of fuel, blazed up again toward the middle of the year.

On the 17th of June, six neophytes were arrested, to wit: Lui Keliilolono, Paulo Kelili, Hilario Kapo, Ana Kuili, Kalala Oupai, and Kininia Malaaho.

11 He Ui no ke Akua a me no Kanaka, 1854, p. 18.
12 Op. cit. p. 56.
13 A Residence, p. 498.
14 Report to A. B. C. F. M. pp. 12, 13.
15 Mission. Herald, 1840, p. 247.
16 Life in Hawaii, pp. 49, 50.

They were conducted to the fort and on the 20th appeared before the governor Kekuanaoa to be examined.[17]

They were of course condemned, according to the then usual argumentation, not because of their religion, but because they had disobeyed the laws of the land which forbade idolatry.

It is true, they refused to plead guilty, since their religion during the eighteen centuries of its existence had constantly forbidden and combatted idolatry. The governor, who was judge, jury and a Presbyterian,[18] informed them that idolatry and popery were identical; and condemning them to prison and hard labor, he had them associated with Valeriano, Kimeone and the latter's wife, who were still at work as scavengers.

Some days later five of these "convicts" were found engaged in manufacturing mudbricks by a contributor to the Sandwich Island Gazette.[19]

Whilst the Sandwich Island government persisted in persecuting its Catholic subjects, Father Walsh, writing repeatedly in the Sandwich Island Gazette, either under his initials R. A. W. or some pseudonym, sought to form public opinion in behalf of his religious tenets and of those that held them. He was ably assisted by the editor of that paper, Mr. Stephen D. Mackintosh, who, although himself a Unitarian, professed a great veneration for the Catholic Church, and was one of the first to raise in this group the standard of religious toleration; and after this gentleman's departure by John J. Jones, Esq. who succeeded him as editor of the Gazette.

Captain Russell Elliot of H. B. M. Ship Fly, having arrived from Valparaiso, also exerted himself in behalf of liberty of conscience, and besought the premier to restore freedom to the prisoners who for religion's sake were then in bondage.[21]

More forcible arguments were needed to cure the Hawaiian grandees of their ill-advised mania for persecution.

In reply to a letter of the commander of the Fly on the subject of persecution, the premier stated that "when the Roman Catholic Priests came they sought out the ignorant, those who despised learning, and those who favored idolatry, and found them ready to join their party. They suspended images about their necks and practised foolish things. We sent to turn them back, but their hearts were rebellious and they would not hear, and there was therefore no alternative in our opinion but to punish them. So we have done with all cases of persons using idolatrous practices, and such is a law of the land." She also inquired: "Perhaps it will be best to expell the British subject who is here, considering he is a teacher of that religion. What think you of that? Perhaps it would be right? Perhaps not?"

Answering that communication, the English commander informed her ladyship in the most emphatic language, "that Catholics are not idolaters, and that those that informed her that they were, had done so either through ignorance or malice, and that the less she had to do with such advisers, the better for herself and her people. In regard to Mr. Walsh, he cautioned her in the name of the British Government to be wary indeed, and never for a moment to suffer the person or

17 Sandw. Isl. Gaz. June 23, 1838, July 7, 1838.—F. Bachelot, Lettr. Lith. I, p. 478.

18 "Native courts were very informal, the governor of each island constituting both judge and jury." Honolulu, by Laura Fish Judd, p. 79.

19 Sandwich Island Gazette, July 7, 1838.

21 Suppliment to Sandwich Isl. Mirror, 1840, p. 55.

property of an English subject in any manner to be molested in her kingdom."[22]

This threat of the English captain seems to have impressed Kinau at least to the extent that Father Walsh was kept from sharing the fate of his colleagues.

Moreover, in the beginning of the ensuing year, both the rulers and the missionaries quite astonished the foreign residents by an altogether unusual act of tolerance. It is true, no *Roman Catholics* were benefitted by it, but members of the Greek Orthodox Church, certainly not less than their Latin brethren devoted to the veneration of the Saints and of their images, and who might well have come under the wording of the Ordinance "the Pope's religion or anything similar . . . . . the doctrine of the Pope or any thing else."

On January the 9th, 1839, one of the sailors on board the Russian-American Company's ship Nicolai, then off Honolulu, departed this life. In the afternoon the remains of the deceased were removed to the shore, and deposited by permission in the Seaman's chapel.

Next morning a procession of officers and sailors accompanied the dead to his grave, where the funeral ceremonies were presided over by a priest of the Greek Church, who was a passenger on the Nicolai.

Surrounded by a crowd of natives stood the venerable priest at the head of the grave, clothed in his ministerial robes, and holding in his hands the emblem of Our Lord's passion.

Many of the natives conducted themselves in an anything but respectable manner, shouting in derision during the ceremonies, crossing themselves in scornful imitation, and otherwise insulting and disturbing the priest.[23]

Some months later a Mexican gentleman, Camillo Especiano, having died suddenly, an application was made to the governor to allow Father Walsh to perform the ceremonies of the Church over the remains of this man who was born and raised a Catholic. The request was curtly denied.

To Don Marin also, the man who had rendered so many and eminent services to the Islands, the consolation of receiving the Sacraments from the hands of a priest of his faith, had been denied in his dying moments, and the obsequies at his grave had been performed by a minister of a sect which he repudiated.[24]

The *Kumu Hawaii* of January 16, 1839, edited by the Boston missionaries, endeavored to explain this inconsistency in an article which had not the merit of guilelessness.

"Their priest," it says, "who was on board the vessel, prayed according to their rites. The kanakas made perhaps a false report that this was a priest of the Pope; they said in the streets: Where is this priest who worships idols here? Some said: Whence is the priest who worships idols? Many replied: From the Russian man-of-war, with the long hair, with the image on his neck. Those people said: That is his God. But that is not so. This is a priest of the Greek Church. He is opposed to those of the Pope; he (meaning the Pope) does not command them; they are not forbidden to marry; they have not graven images in their churches; hence the ordinance of prohibition does not regard them. (Pili ole ka olelo a oukou e papa aku ai iaia.) He is not a papal priest."

The editor of the *Kumu Hawaii* having presumably studied Church History, of course should have known that the priests of the Greek Church may not contract marriage, and that a far greater place is given by the Greeks than by the Latins to the veneration of images.

22 Letters of G. P. Judd, Arch. A. B. C. F. M. vol. 137, letter 77.—Suppliment Sandwich Island Mirror, pp. 55, 56.
23 Sandwich Island Gazette, Jan. 12, 1839.
24 Sandwich Island Gazette, Jan. 12, 1839..

But it did not do to let the natives know that a hundred million schismatics, who had from the ninth century been separated from the Roman Church, apart from their refusal to recognize the Pope as the juridical Head of the Universal Church, and a highly metaphysical difference in the conception of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, held absolutely the same doctrines as the "Palani."

It might have set the natives a-thinking when they heard that only a relatively insignificant and altogether modern part of Christianity stigmatized the veneration of images as idolatry.

Moreover, there was a warm spot in Mr. Bingham's heart for the subjects of the Czar. In the year 1820 King Liholiho sent his secretary, John Rives, to Honolulu to expel a number of foreigners whom probably he considered as undesirable citizens. The missionaries feared for themselves, and deemed it prudent to apprise the Russian governor of Kamschatka of their position, asking him if they could find protection and employment as Christian missionaries in that part of the world, if they were driven from the Sandwich Islands.

The governor, Peter Reickord, who, if we may judge by his letter, was not very sound of mind, answered that, although their services were not needed, he was willing to receive them and offer them all the assistance in his power.[25]

The following year the Russian vessel *Otkritie* called at Honolulu, and her commander presented the missionary with "seven golden ducats and eighty-six Spanish dollars" of which he might make the use he thought proper.[26]

Having received such substantial encouragement from the Russians, it would have really been too ungrateful not to wink an eye and allow them for once to practice their "idolatric" worship on Hawaiian soil.

Two important events mark the Spring of 1839: the completion of the translation of the Bible into the Hawaiian language, and the death of the premier, Kinau.

During a period of fifteen years the Protestant missionaries had labored at the gigantic task of rendering the Sacred Books into a language, which only since less than two decades had been reduced to writing. The last hand was put to the translation on March 25; the printing was completed on May 10.[27]

Kinau, or Kaahumanu II, as she styled herself, died on April the 4th, aged 32 years, after a sickness of three weeks. If half of the praises given her by Rev. Mr. Bingham is deserved, [28] she would still be—considering the recent conversion from paganism—a most accomplished Christian woman. And although for Hawaiian Catholics she will always bear the stigma, *"Our greatest enemy,"* we may still attribute her persecution to religious zeal, which, however misguided, may have gotten its reward from a merciful God, whose justice takes in account the circumstances which lessen and excuse from sin, as well as those that aggravate it.

Three months after her demise, the king proclaimed the baby princess, Victoria Kamehamalu II, her successor, during whose minority the Chiefess Kekauluohi was to act as premier.

This good lady "entered on her public duties with much propriety," says Bingham.[29]

The "propriety" consisted in the arrest of no less than sixty-seven Catholics, men, women and children, who by her order were brought to Honolulu from

25 Bingham, A Residence, pp. 118, 119.
26 Ibidem, p. 150.
27 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 188.—Bingham, A Residence, p. 531.
28 Op. Cit. pp. 436, 437; 532, 533.
29 Op. Cit. p. 534.

Waianae, a valley over thirty miles distant, where for some time they had taken refuge.

When within three miles from Honolulu, one of their number, a native by the name of John Kaluahiwa, and 37 years of age; became so fatigued and exhausted that it was necessary to leave him at the village of Moanalua. Left there without relatives or friends, the poor man expired the evening of the same day.[30]

Immediately after their arrival at Honolulu,[31] the prisoners were taken before the chiefs, where—according to the Sandwich Island Gazette—they had to undergo an interrogatory by Mr. Richards, one of the missionaries, who, shortly before had severed his connections with the American Board and entered the service of the government as translator and political adviser.[32]

When they had pleaded guilty to the crime of "popery," Mr. Richards is said to have informed them that they were "not to be reproved or punished for repeating Catholic prayers or believing in that doctrine; but because they had disobeyed the orders of the king by repeating such prayers and believing in such doctrines."[33]

Mr. Richards, probably in response to the Sandwich Island Gazette, denies having served as interpreter at the trial or having made to the prisoners any remark respecting their punishment, or crime, or anything of that nature, but affirms that after a conversation with one of the party he went to see the governor, and endeavored to persuade him not to punish them. He received an unexpected rebuke. In his own words:

"I enquired . . . . . What law have they broken? He (the governor) answered, 'the law forbidding the worship of images.' I asked him, was he sure they had worshiped images in the sense of that law? He said, he was. I expressed a contrary opinion. He re-affirmed it, with great confidence. I told him I thought he would do wrong to punish them. He said, 'No, it will not be wrong.' I re-asserted my opinion. He then said with considerable spirit, 'If it is wrong, the wrong will rest on you,' (using the plural number and meaning the Missionaries). I answered, 'Why what do you mean by that?' He replied, 'Have you not always told us, it was wrong to worship images?' I answered, Surely we have, and so we have always told you, it was wrong to disbelieve the Bible, and neglect prayer. Why do you not send out, and collect all the unbelievers, and prayerless persons, and put them in confinement?'

"And thus the conversation ended."[34]

At the end of the interrogatory, all of the prisoners, with the exception of thirteen, were suffered to depart. The author of the "Suppliment" states "because they promised to attend the Protestant church and obey the laws." Father Walsh hereby makes an annotation denying the former part of the statement.

The remaining thirteen were ordered to the fort, where they were put to torture. "The hand of one person was lashed to that of another, and arms raised over a partition seven feet high, which passed between each couple, who also had their feet in chains. On Sunday morning, exhausted by fatigue and pain, nine were liberated and the succeeding day the remaining four, two men and two women, all promised to obey the laws."[35]

Rev. Mr. Bingham claims the merit for their deliverance. He says: "Scarcely ten days had elapsed before it was reported that a number of subjects at Waianae, called Palani, accused of malamalamakii, image worship, had been called before

30 Suppliment to Sandwich Island Mirror, 1840, p. 57.
31 On June 15, 1839.
32 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 13.
33 Sandw. Isl. Gazette, 1839, June 22.—Sandw. Isl. Mirror, Suppliment, p. 57.
34 Written statement by Mr. William Richards, quoted by Wyllie in his Historical Summary, p. 328.
35 Sandwich Island Gazette, June 22, 1839.

ST. ANTHONY'S ORPHANAGE AT KALIHI-UKA, HONOLULU

CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY OF PEACE, HONOLULU

the chiefs, and that some of them were treated with severity. Addressing a note to the Premier, I inquired of her as to the fact, and she returned me the following answer:

June 18th, 1839.

Salutations to you, Bingham.

I have seen your letter. We have exercised that oppression. But it has been brought to an end. Henceforth, it will doubtless be the rule to admonish. Love to you and Mrs. Bingham.

KEKAULUOHI.[36]

It has been affirmed that on the 17th of June, 1839, the king issued orders that no further punishments should be inflicted, that the chiefs should confine themselves to the use of moral suasion in their efforts to reclaim the Roman Catholic proselytes, and if any were confined or laboring, they should be set at liberty . . . . . that, if any suffered after this, it was without his knowledge or consent."[37] Jarves adds that this decree was issued at Lahaina.[38] He probably did not know that the king was not at Lahaina on June 17th. Kauikeaouli and suite left Honolulu in the barks Hoikaika and Palua on June the 18th.[39]

If the alleged decree had been published at all, it must have been at Honolulu, and it could not have required several days to reach the Fort and the Governor residing there, as Wyllie insinuates.[40]

The Sandwich Island Gazette, to which, as a rule, new laws were communicated for publication, not only does not publish this alleged edict, but the editor formally denies having had any knowledge of it.[41]

The foundation of the story is probably the above quoted statement of Mr. Richards, who after having narrated his conversation with the governor, adds: "Some three or four days after this, I heard the King tell the Governor, in presence of several of the Chiefs, to desist entirely from punishing Romanists for their religion, but to confine his interpretation of the law to the ancient idolatry of this country, but that he might persuade and teach the people on that subject, as much as he pleased."[42]

But these directions privately given by the King to some of his chiefs, not being promulgated, cannot be considered as an edict of religious tolerance. They certainly did not put an end to the persecution of Catholics.

What may have been the cause of Mr. Bingham's sudden love of religious toleration? What may have been the true reason of the chiefs' instantaneous veering of policy?

Dibble attributes it to the efforts of Mr. Richards, and the King seems to confirm his statement.[43]

I do not wish to withhold credit from Mr. Richards for his endeavors. But the following may explain the sudden conversion of Mr. Bingham and the Chiefs to his views.

On the 16th of June the American whaleship Elizabeth touched at Honolulu, not unlikely with letters from the Brethren of Tahiti, which island she had left after the middle of May. From her it was learned that the French frigate l'Artémise had arrived there April the 17th, and had struck on an unknown reef

36 A Residence, p. 535.
37 Castle, in Hawaiian Spectator, vol. 2, No. IV, p. 469.
38 History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, 1843, p. 317.
39 Sandwich Island Gazette, June 22, 1839, Marine News.
40 Note 52 to Perrin's Historical Memorandum.
41 Suppliment to Sandwich Island Mirror, p. 58, the editor of which was formerly of the S. I. Gazette, "Our exertions, after the most thorough inquiry, have proved ineffectual in obtaining any proof," he says.
42 In Wyllie's Historical Summary, pp. 328, 329.
43 Sheldon Dibble, A History, 1909, pp. 338, 342.

off Point Venus; that it was presumed that the damages the vessel had sustained would be soon repaired, and that in two or three months she would be ready to proceed to her port of destination, which was Honolulu.

The editor of the Sandwich Island Gazette, in giving this news to his readers, made these reflections:

"What may be the object of the visit of the Artemise to this Island is not known; it is possible the Commander may be clothed with power to demand justice for the wrongs and insults that have been offered by this people to the subjects and the Flag of France. The day of account, we are certain, cannot be far distant, and when it does come, we hope that the whole truth will be made manifest; and that those who have been instrumental in leading these credulous people into trouble and difficulty, will have to bear the burthen of helping them out. We do say, and we believe it to be the truth, that the Chiefs and Rulers of this land would never have committed the outrages they have, had they not been led on by indiscreet advisers, and biased by the ipse dixit of meddling busy bodies, who, with false notions of justice and power, have used their ill-merited influence to draw the lords of these Isles into a controversy with one of the most powerful nations of the globe. We entertain no animosity or ill will towards those who are in power in this land where we sojourn, they have our best wishes for their prosperity and advancement, but we do hope that the King of the French will teach them a lesson, never to be forgotten; that they may in future remember that in their intercourse with the people of foreign nations, injustice, inhumanity and oppression will not for a moment be tolerated for any cause whatever which may be assigned."[44]

Other French men-of-war had called at Honolulu before and no harm had been experienced. But for some time the government of Louis Philippe had adopted a vigorous colonial policy, the effects of which were being felt principally in the South Seas.

The preceding year La Vénus had called at Tahiti, and her commander, Captain Du Petit-Thouars, had demanded and obtained an indemnity of $2,000 in favor of Fathers Laval and Caret, French missionaries who in 1836 had been forcibly expelled; he had also stipulated that henceforth *all* French citizens were to be received there as subjects of a friendly nation.[45]

At that time the Sandwich Island Gazette had already announced that two French ships of war would be dispatched to these Islands to demand the most ample satisfaction from the King of Hawaii for the insults and oppression which had been extended to the subjects of France.[46]

It was feared that now this announcement was to have its fulfillment. That France meant to support its missionaries, even at the cannon's mouth, was becoming apparent. Not that the government of Louis Philippe was animated by religious zeal, but the connection between national missionaries and national commercial and political influence began to dawn upon the European colonial powers. In consequence, France did not think itself fairly treated by countries which admitted American and English missionaries whilst rejecting those of her own nationality.

If the Hawaiian Chiefs failed to understand the probable consequences of this tendency in regard to their dominions, this could hardly be the case with the alert Boston missionaries.

Hence the news of Laplace's coming may well explain the otherwise, on account of its suddenness, inexplicable abandonment of the policy of persecution.

44 Sandwich Island Gazette, June 22d, 1839.

45 Dumont d'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, vol. IV, p. 60; Missions Catholiques Francaises, vol. IV, p. 61.

46 Issue of Feb. 16, 1839.

However, the fire of oppression could not thus go out, without flaming up once more.

The 24th of June, six days after Kekauluohi had promised Mr. Bingham that no oppression for religion's sake was to be exercised any more, two native women were arrested for being Catholics. One of them was about fifty, the other thirty years of age. They were conducted to the fort where some petty officers interrogated them as to their belief. They were repeatedly ordered to abandon the Catholic religion and to embrace the faith of Mr. Bingham, but they firmly refused to comply.

The elder of the two [Juliana Kanakanui, born 1803 on Maui, baptized April 5, 1829; married Joakimo Wainui on April 26, 1829, and he having died, married again, Akelonio Keawahine, May 6, 1837. Erroneously called Juliana Makuawahine in the "Suppliment."] was then drawn up to a withered *hau* tree (Rauwolfia Sandwicensis) her hands placed each side of one of its dead branches, about seven feet high, and then shackled with irons, so that she might be said to hang by the wrists, as she could barely touch the ground with her toes.

The other woman [Maria Makalena Kaha, born on Maui in 1809, married to Kapuaa, baptized January 23, 1839] was brought up to the eaves of a low thatched house, where her arms were forced round one of the rafters about six feet in height and then made fast by irons, and she stood with her face so near the thatch that it was constantly lacerated by the stubs of grass which she was unable to avoid. During the night heavy showers of rain poured down upon the helpless women.

In this situation they were found next morning about eleven o'clock by a large number of foreign residents who came there for the purpose of witnessing this scene of persecution.[47]

The governor was absent at the time, but knew since the preceding day of the arrest of the two women, whom he intended to examine the next morning.[48]

The prisoners having been in that awful position for eighteen hours, without drink or food of any description, were in a most pitiful state.[49]

Mr. Dudoit and another foreigner each gave half a dollar to one of the woman's relatives who was sitting nearby, and told him to buy the sufferers some *poi* and fish.[50]

Meanwhile one of the white men, Mr. Hooper by name, went back, and having met Mr. Bingham, who, just then, returned in his carriage from one of the suburbs (Punahou), requested him to come to the fort and assist in liberating the two prisoners.

The missionary expressed doubts as to their being punished for being Catholics, stating that he had learned from the premier that punishment was not to be inflicted on that account. Both went to Kekauluohi's house, where the governor also happened to be. Mr. Hooper went back to the fort, whilst Mr. Bingham entered the house, apprised the governor of what he had heard and called his attention to it.[51]

Mr. Hooper on his return met Rev. Mr. Bishop, another of the Protestant missionaries, who having accompanied him to the fort, expressed his indignation

47 Sandwich Island Gazette, June 29, 1839.
48 Bingham, A Residence, p. 535.
49 Sandwich Island Gazette, loc. cit.
50 Anonymous relation of the case of the two women by an eye-witness. Arch. C. M. Honolulu; V. D. 79.
51 A Residence, p. 535.

at the distressing sight, and promised that he would try to have a stop put to such proceedings.

At the time Mr. Bishop made his appearance, a guard began to loosen the irons of the elder women; when her hands were free, she staggered, whereupon the guard held her, at the same time asperging her with abusive language. At that moment another native belonging to the fort came, and led her away, saying that she had to go before the governor.

The foreigners then went to see the other woman freed from her shackles. When a guard started taking off the fetters from her feet, it was noticed that he was quite a novice at it; hence Mr. Hooper, seeing him screwing and pounding at the forelock, loosened the irons for him.

The poor sufferers were then led out of the fort to be conducted before the governor, the following gentlemen accompanying them: Messrs. S. Reynolds, Wm. French, Geo. Pelly, E. Sullivan, E. Stokes, H. Grimes, P. Peabody, Wm. Hooper and Jules Dudoit. The American consul, Mr. Brinsmade, who also had witnessed the scene in the fort, refused to go with the party.

These details are taken from an anonymous manuscript, written—probably for the benefit of Father Walsh—by an eye-witness of the proceedings. From internal evidence of that document the author must be either Mr. Sullivan or Mr. Peabody.

We quote verbally the rest of the relation, without changing the faulty spelling and construction:

"We had not got far when we met the Govr. who shook hands with all and asked where are you all going. Mr. Wm. French said we were going to enquire which was the straight road, our backs being turned to the road we came. The Govr. pointed and said there is the straight road, pointing to the road we came as much as to say, go back, and repeated the words over. With that Mr. French asked for what were them two poor women put in irons for. The Govr. answered and told him it was none of his business, his business was to sell or dispose of his articles of trade. Then Mr. Hooper spoke up and asked if he ordered them in confinement. He answered in the affirmative. And for what said Mr. Hooper. For being followers of the church of the Pope and worshiping Idols or graven Images and wanted to know what Mr. H. had to do with it and said it was none of his business, that it was their business and that he was doing and executing the orders of Kouikeouli in a sharp and cross manner, but at the same time altering his countenance, that they done it to prevent war and bloodshed, saying that it (the worship of Graven Images) was the cause of a war between Riorio and Kekuokalani and that Kaahumanu had prohibited it at the time Govr. Boki was going to join the Catholic Church. Mr. Hooper asked of Kekuanoa again if it was for their religious opinions they were punished he told him positively it was, at the same time said the Govr., let us go to the House and discuss the matter over. Mr. Hooper made answer by bidding him good morning. The Govr. denied it being his orders to put the prisoners in tortures as they were, by that he all bid him good morning and came away.

The anonymity of the manuscript certainly detracts from its value; however, it does not appear what interest the author could have had in misrepresenting what he had seen, whilst making a private report of this kind. Although details are not by themselves a proof of truthfulness, the way they are given here, seems to indicate a desire to tell things exactly as they happened. Moreover, the versions of Mr. Bingham and the Sandwich Island Gazette, and naturally also the Suppliment of the Sandwich Island Mirror, in the particulars they have in common with this document, are in harmony with it.

Only the missionary author wilfully misrepresents the foreign residents as if they had unlawfully taken the prisoners out of the fort. He says: He (the governor) quickly despatched a messenger and started himself, and met the two

women coming from the fort, under escort of several foreigners, who, unbidden, had gone into the fort to release them, concerning whom the author of the Supplement to the Sandwich Islands Mirror says: "The gentlemen succeeded in liberating the prisoners."[52]

Now the editor of that publication used these words, not speaking of the taking of the prisoners out of the fort, but of the taking off of the fetters, which they obtained by their remonstrances and in which Mr. Hooper assisted.

In the sentence which Bingham quotes, he suppresses the words: *from their awful and critical position,* and neglects the sentence which follows shortly: "After recovering a little, the prisoners were *ordered* to proceed to the house of the Governess."

In a letter dated October 26, 1839, of the king to P. A. Brinsmade, then U. S. consul, he declares that "the confinement of the two women had not been by order of the chiefs." This prince, however, being on Maui at the time of the arrest, can hardly be admitted as a witness in this case. Besides, all those long and methodical letters written over the signature of Kamehameha III, principally not excluding his letter to William IV, [53] seem to deserve consideration only in as far as they are statements made by Messrs. Bingham and Richards.

On the evening of that day, the two females who had been committed to the fort by Kekuanaoa, were dismissed, [54] probably through the good services of Mr. Bishop.

Persecution was not finished however. The nine Catholics condemned to hard labor in 1836, 1837, and on June 17, 1838, were yet kept prisoners in two little huts which they had constructed for themselves in the eastern vicinity of Honolulu, where they were closely watched by an officer of the government.[55]

On the 6th of July a contributor to the Sandwich Island Gazette, signing himself Philanthropus (probably Father Walsh) insisted that the Protestant missionaries should obtain the liberation of these nine sufferers.

His request was not heeded. Nevertheless, their sufferings were coming to an end. Three days later, on the feast of Our Lady of Peace, a ship was described rounding the point of Diamond Head; a signal gun was heard booming o'er the deep. It announced the dawn of religious freedom to the Sandwich Islanders. The French frigate l'Artémise was riding on the blue waters of Honolulu harbor.

52 A Residence, p. 535.
53 Bingham says that the Letter to the King of England was arranged by the native secretary, John Ii. (Report to A. B. C. F. M., p. 25.) He probably knew also the person who had dictated the document to that wight.
54 S. I. Gazette, June 29, 1839.
55 S. I. Gazette, July 6th, 1839.

CHAPTER XII.

L'Artemise

The Manifesto.—No Protection for Missionaries.—Committee of Vigilance.—Armistice.—The $20,000 Guarantee.—Grant of Religious Liberty.—Military Mass.—The Commercial Treaty.—An Apology for Laplace.—Whatever we have done to others, do not do it to us.—The U. S. East-India Squadron.—A Diplomatic Roman Candle.

On the morning of July the 9th, 1839, l'Artémise had arrived in Honolulu roadstead.[1] She was soon boarded by M. Jules Dudoit who, on account of his many services to French subjects, had been appointed consular agent for France by Captain Du Petit-Thouars, and now furnished Captain Laplace with such information as the commander needed before acquainting the island authorities with the aim of his visit.

According to Laplace himself, the native authorities so well understood the reasons of his coming that even before the vessel had established any communications with the shore all the Catholics who were then still employed in the performance of public works, held prisoners for their conscience's sake, were immediately set at liberty; although as a fact they were liberated only three days later.[2]

However, the commodore was not to be deceived by this apparent yielding before the storm, nor by the offers of refreshments which were made to him, but which he declined until all difficulties should have been regulated.

Fearing lest some hoped for or fortuitous foreign intervention might jeopardize the success of his mission[3], he dispatched after a few hours an officer to the chiefs with the following lengthy document:

MANIFESTO addressed to the King of the Sandwich Islands by the naval Captain Laplace, Commander of the French frigate l'Artémise in the name of his government.

His Majesty the King of the French having commanded me to come to Honolulu in order to put an end either by force or by persuasion to the ill-treatment of which the French are the victims at the Sandwich Islands.

I hasten first to employ the latter means as being more in harmony with the noble and liberal political system pursued by France towards weaker nations, hoping that I shall thus make the king and the principal chiefs of these islands understand how fatal to their interests the conduct is which they pursue towards her, and which may cause disasters to themselves and their country should they persist in it.

Misled by perfidious counsels, deceived by the excessive indulgence of which my country has given evidence in their favor for several years, they doubtless do not know how powerful France is, and that there is no power in the world which is capable of preventing it from punishing its enemies; otherwise they would have endeavored to merit its good will, instead of displeasing it as they have done by ill treating the French; they would have faithfully kept the treaties instead of violating them, as soon as the fear whereby bad intentions had been constrained, had disappeared with the man-of-war which had caused it; in fine, they would have understood that persecuting the Catholic religion, tarnishing it with the name of idolatry, and expelling, under this absurd pretext, the French from this archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.

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1 Laplace says the 19th, which is an error for the 10th. All the dates given by that commander for his stay at the Hawaiian Islands, must be advanced by one day in order to get the local time; he having passed the date-line when coming from the West.

2 Circumnavigation, vol. V, p. 439; Sandw. Isl. Gaz. July 13, 1839; on the margin of which Father Walsh states that they were liberated on the 12th of July.

3 Circumnavigation, V. p. 531.

It is without doubt the formal intention of France, that the king of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power, and that he consider her his ally; but she also demands that he conforms to usages established by civilized nations. Now among the latter there is not one that does not permit in its territory the free exercise of all religions; and, however, in the Sandwich Islands the Catholics are not allowed to exercise theirs publicly, whilst the Methodists enjoy there the most extended privileges; for the latter all favors, for the former nothing but the most cruel persecutions. Such a state of affairs being contrary to international law, insulting to Catholic nations, cannot last any longer, and I am sent to put an end to it. Consequently, I demand in the name of my Sovereign:

1. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout the islands which are subject to the king of the Sandwich Islands. The members of this communion shall enjoy there all the privileges granted to Protestants.

2. That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government at Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that this church be ministered by priests of their nationality.

3. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions inflicted upon the Catholic missionaries be at once set at liberty.

4. That the king of the Sandwich Island deposit in the hands of the captain of l'Artémise the sum of twenty thousand dollars as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France, which sum will be restored to him by the government of that country as soon as it shall judge that the clauses of the accompanying treaty shall have been faithfully executed.

5. Finally that the treaty signed by the king of the Sandwich Islands, as well as the sum mentioned above, be conveyed on board l'Artémise by one of the principal chiefs of the country, whilst the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns, which will be returned by the frigate.

These are the equitable conditions, at the price of which the King of the Sandwich Islands will conserve the friendship of France. I am pleased to believe that understanding how necessary to the conservation of his people it is to be at peace with everybody, he will hasten to accept them, and imitate the praiseworthy example of the queen of Tahiti, who has granted the free exercise of the Catholic religion in her possessions. But, if contrary to my expectations, it should be otherwise; if the king and principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, misled by bad advice, should refuse to sign the treaty which I present, war would immediately commence, and all the devastations, all the calamities which will be the unhappy but inevitable consequences, will be imputed to themselves alone; also they will have to pay the damages which the foreigners, injured under these circumstances, will have a right to claim.

Honolulu, July the 10th (for the 9th), 1839.

The naval captain commanding the French frigate l'Artemise.

LAPLACE.[4]

A written agreement embracing the clauses enumerated in the manifesto was subjoined and its ratification demanded before July the 12th (July 11th, local time) at noon; if not, hostilities were to be commenced at once.

The officer who carried this ultimatum ashore was also the bearer of letters for the British and American consuls, in which the French commander offered "asylum and protection on board l'Artémise to those of their nationality who, under the circumstances, apprehended danger on the part of the natives."[5]

The communication to the American consul contained the following exception: "I do not, however, include in this class the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, form a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me they compose a part of the native population and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought upon this country."[6]

4 Translation from the French treaty as quoted by Laplace in his Circumnavigation, vol. V, p. 531 et seq.
5 Sandwich Island Gazette, July 13, 1839.
6 Hawaiian Spectator, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 448.

When the contents of these letters became known, a meeting was at once held by the foreign residents. They appointed a committee of vigilance which was to make such arrangements and inquiries as the exigencies of the state of affairs might require.

The committee sent a letter to Laplace, asking him for the loan of fifty muskets, one hundred pistols and fifty cutlasses wherewith to defend themselves against the evilly disposed natives. In another letter, addressed to the *Kuhina-nui,* they inquired on what assistance they could depend in any measure which might be advisable to take, in order to protect their lives and property from any attacks of the native population.

They finally circulated a paper among the white residents requesting that they pledge themselves to co-operate with each other for mutual defense if necessary. On the 13th one hundred and thirty foreigners had already signed that circular, and it was expected that two hundred names would be obtained. Since it was not then the whaling season, and no foreign vessels were in the port apart from the French man-of-war, we have here, when adding those of the missionary establishments, the number of white male adults then at Honolulu.

Captain Laplace in answering declared himself unable to provide them with the requested means of defense, since all his men were to be employed in the attack on the town, and in the defense of the frigate, but he stated also that he had prepared forces sufficiently strong to make the French the masters and the protectors of the town at the same time.

Kekauluohi in her turn answered that, if any natives should plunder from them, she gave them into their hands during those days to determine their merits, promising to meet out just punishment to the offenders, once the present perplexity would be over.[7]

The Protestant missionaries having received communication of Laplace's letter, met on the 11th of July, and resolved to apply to their consul, Mr. P. A. Brinsmade, for protection for themselves, "forty unoffending citizens of the United States and their families."

The consul offered them an asylum within the enclosure of his consulate, and in another letter stated that he did not know that other or better protection could be promised them than an unimpaired testimony to their citizenship, under the broad seal of the United States.[8]

However, in the afternoon of the 9th, the chiefs sent M. Dudoit to Captain Laplace asking him to grant an extension of time for complying with the terms of the manifesto, until the king, who was then on Maui, could be informed of the situation.

The time was accordingly extended till Monday, the 15th, and a schooner was allowed to proceed and fetch the king, under condition, however, that a hostage were sent aboard l'Artémise as a pledge for the return of the schooner and for the governor's faith not to make any new preparations for defense until the armistice was ended.

Haalilo, the king's private secretary, was first sent in that quality, but the next morning his place was taken by another chief whose presence annoyed the commander as much as that of the secretary had pleased him.[9]

Meantime everything remained quiet, the natives not having the slightest

7 See Sandwich Island Gazette, July 20th, 1839, for these and further particulars as to the activity of the Committee of Vigilance.

8 See the Correspondence of the Missionaries and their consul, as reported in the Hawaiian Spectator, vol. II, no. 4, p. 448 et seq.

9 Circumnavigation, vol. V, pp. 440, 441.

inclination to be slaughtered in a useless combat. The chiefs did not even wait either for the expiration of the armistice or for the king's arrival, but resolved to put an end to the general uneasiness which pervaded all classes by acquiescing in all the demands of the French.

The $20,000 was for the most part borrowed from the foreign residents. Of these, some were unwilling to lend the government any money for this purpose, being influenced by a wish that the money should be taken from the Protestant missionaries.[10]

Having collected the amount the governor, in colonel's uniform, accompanied by the chiefs Haalilo and Kanaina, carried it to l'Artémise, together with the treaty signed by Kekauluohi and himself.

This was done on the 13th of July at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The treaty, however, bears the date of the 12th, so that this must be considered as the day on which religious liberty was granted to Hawaii.

As the barge carrying the embassy proceeded to the frigate, the fort saluted the French flag with twenty-one guns, which on the party's arrival on board was returned by an equal number.

They were received with every mark of respect by Laplace, surrounded by his staff. The commander then affixed his signature to a duplicate of the treaty, and after having partaken of a slight repast, the governor and his retinue returned to the shore, whilst thirteen guns boomed forth in his honor.[11]

The king arrived the next morning at 9 o'clock and immediately landed.

Laplace had stipulated that the treaty should be sealed by the celebration ashore of a military Mass on Sunday, the 14th of July.

In a large straw house which had served as a palace to the late King Liholiho, a temporary altar had been erected. About the hour of ten a body of 120 soldiers and about 60 seamen landed and with the naval band of l'Artémise leading the way, marched to the aforesaid palace. Somewhat later the commander himself landed for the first time, escorted by his staff. He was welcomed at the pier by a large number of foreigners, and in their company followed his troops.

At 11 o'clock Father Walsh offered the Holy Sacrifice, which was attended not only by the military and the white residents, but also by the liberated Catholic natives, who now in the sweetness of their religion's triumph, forgot the sufferings of the past.

In the afternoon Laplace applied for an audience with the king, which was granted the following day, and during which Kauikeaouli confirmed the signature affixed to the treaty by his chiefs, and also promised to sign a commercial convention which the French commander had proposed.[12]

Of this convention, two clauses were much objected to by the missionary element, especially the sixth article:

They read as follows:

Art. IV. No Frenchman accused of any crime whatever shall be judged otherwise than by a jury composed of foreign residents proposed by the Consul of France, and accepted by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

Art. VI. French merchandise, or known to be of French production and especially wine and brandies, shall not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than 5 per cent *ad valorem*.

10 Father Walsh, Letter to Father Short, Aug. 29, 1839.
11 Laplace, Circumnavigation, V., pp. 458, 459.
12 Laplace, Circumnavigation, V. P. 463, and p. 477.

Whether or not this convention was forced upon the king is a question we have no interest to settle.[13] It was actually signed on the morning of July 17.

During his short stay Laplace made frequent visits at the Catholic Mission establishment, where the French consular agent had then his residence, and he seems to have made it a point to show on all occasions a marked deference to Father Walsh.[14]

On the morning of the 20th l'Artémise sailed for the Northwest coast of America.

The proceedings of her commander at the Sandwich Islands have received much adverse criticism at the hands of several Protestant authors.

Although we hold no brief in his defense, we may say briefly:

1. That Laplace acted neither with precipitation nor arbitrarily, but under instructions of his government, which he had received during his stay at Sydney.

2. The French government of that time, hardly religiously inclined, did not force the Catholic religion on the natives, since no one was forced to embrace it; it simply forced despotic rulers to grant to their subjects that freedom of conscience which they had every right to demand, and which, but for French intervention, they would have been long in obtaining.

3. In forcing Catholic priests upon the Hawaiian chiefs the French government meant merely to promote its business interests. That this was the aim of Laplace's proceedings may be easily seen from his statements on page 336 et seq. of his Circumnavigation.

On his arrival at Valparaiso he asked of the Prefect Apostolic that Father Walsh be removed and that only French priests would be employed at the Islands, saying, "that although the Irish are not *religiously* English, they are *politically* English, and on that account should not be trusted."[15]

4. Whether the means he employed were in accordance with moral law may be discussed; they can hardly be said to be an infringement of the laws of nations.

The law of nations is not unchangeable like moral law, on which, however, it ought to be based. Neither is it made in the study or lecture room of university professors, but it is modified, developed and interpreted, after the bayonet and the cannon have done the debating.

5. The measures taken by the French government to protect its industries at the Hawaiian Islands may be well called "equitable" and inspired by "a noble and liberal political system," when compared with the opium outrage the English inflicted upon China not a year later.[16]

Nor were the seven men-of-war which accompanied the American Commodore Perry, when in 1854 he opened Japan to American commerce, a mere honorific escort.

However, was not the Mikado free to trade with whomsoever he wanted, free to refuse an entry to foreigners into his country, if Vattel, and not the cannon mouth had been the chosen arbiter?[17]

Although no actual harm had been inflicted on them by the French the Protestant missionaries felt sorely aggrieved on account of the exemption made by Laplace concerning them. They seem not to have been aware that the commander measured to them with the measure they had applied to the Catholic

13 Cf. Laplace, op. cit. V. p. 492; Jarves' History of the Sandwich Islands, p. 329; Supplement to the Sandwich Island Mirror, 1841, p. 68.
14 F. Walsh's Letter to F. Short, Aug. 29, 1839.
15 Letter of F. Short to F. Walsh, Jan. 1, 1840.
16 See Encyclopedia Britannica, CHINA.
17 Vattel, Droit des Gens, livre II, 25 and 94.

priests.[18] If French priests in Hawaii were to be considered as outlaws, disqualified from enjoying the privileges of other Frenchmen, why should American clergymen not have been judged equally incapable of the privileges of American citizenship?

But nobody ever likes the Golden Rule to be turned around.

Accordingly, the missionaries brought their grievances before their government in the form of a memorial to Congress. They were now supposed to leave the matter for the action of that body. But when up till October their desire for an official vindication had not been gratified, and on the 9th of that month the U. S. East Indian Squadron came to anchor at Honolulu, they once more agitated the matter, and requested Commodore Read to appoint a court of inquiry, to which to submit the question, whether the Mission as a body, or as individuals, were in any way the authors or the blamable causes of the persecutions against the Catholics at the Sandwich Islands.

The commodore having ignored their letter, they addressed him eight days later with a repetition of their request, insisting that the stay of the squadron should be prolonged if this were necessary to procure them the satisfaction they longed for.

After a delay of four days Commodore Read answered rather sarcastically:

"**. . . . . If you ask me what steps you are to take to prove your innocence of what you are pleased to call charges, and do away if possible with the prejudice which may exist at Honolulu, my answer is, that you have already informed your government of all the circumstances of the case, and that, if our rulers deem an inquiry necessary, they will, no doubt, direct it to be made.**

"In the meantime I would recommend the utmost forbearance as the best and only mode of disarming your opponents of any resentment they may feel. . . . . ."

Some more communications were exchanged between the Missionaries, their consul and the commodore, and when, after all, the latter remained determined not to inquire into grievances which it was out of his power to redress, sixteen of his officers thought themselves entitled to read their commander a lecture, and published the whole correspondence, prefixing to it a letter wherein they expressed their sympathy with the American clergy.

This publication, of course, did not change in anything the merits of the case under dispute, nor did it nullify any reports concerning the missionaries sent abroad through the medium of the Sandwich Island Gazette or its successor, the Sandwich Island Mirror.[19]

The joint letter, in the publication of which the sixteen officers indulged, was merely, as they qualified it themselves with the frankness characteristic of sailors, *"a most unqualified* (i. e. incompetent) *testimony."*[20]

The Missionary-Memorial reached Congress in due time. It was presented by a Governor Vroom to the House of Representatives on the 18th of May, 1840, and was referred on his motion to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The Committee made no report during that session, but referred the matter to the Department of State, which took no action on the subject.[21]

In February, 1841, Mr. Baird obtained an audience of King Louis Philippe to whom he presented a letter of the Prudential Committee on the affairs of the Missionaries versus Captain Laplace. Mr. Baird having been permitted by

18 Cf. Bingham, A Residence, p. 514; Sam'l N. Castle in Hawaiian Spectator, vol. II, no. 4, p. 462; et alii.

19 Cf. Bingham, A Residence, p. 582.

20 See for the Visit of the E. I. Squadron: An Account of the Visit of the French Frigate l'Artemise to the Sandwich Islands. July, 1839.

21 Letter of Gov. P. D. Vroom, June 5, 1841, to Rev. Wm. J. Armstrong.

the king to state the case in a few words, Louis Philippe expressed his regret that the chief of the Sandwich Islands had not at once permitted the Catholic missionaries to remain there and do what they could, without infringing the laws, to promote their religion. He said that he did not see why they could not have allowed this; that he thought that both the Catholic and the Protestant religion were infinitely better than none; that, being a Catholic himself, he could not do anything to oppose Catholic Missions, but that he sincerely desired that the Catholic and Protestant missions might go on everywhere together in a spirit of harmony and good will. He assured Mr. Baird that he should certainly read the letter and the documents, and give the whole subject his most serious attention.

The agent of the Prudential Committee also called on M. Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but as this was the fourth cabinet since that which sent Laplace to the Sandwich Islands, Mr. Baird avowed that the whole affair had something of an air of *antiquity* about it, and expressed a fear that this might prevent M. Guizot of doing anything to satisfy the cravings for revenge of Mr. Bingham and his colleagues.

The matter seems to have been dropped then and there.[22]

22 Letter of Mr. Baird to Rev. Rufus Anderson, Feb. 27, 1841.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Episcopate of Bishop Rouchouze

Land Tenure.—Fasts and Feasts.—Catholics Again Annoyed.—Declaration of Rights.—First Publications.—Zeal of Converts.—Arrival of Mgr. Rouchouze and Company.—A Protestant Missionary Tries to Convert the Priests.—Visit of La Pylade.—Foundation of Kailua Mission.—The Lahainaluna History of the Church.—Building of the Cathedral.—Bingham Leaves for America.—Armstrong, His Successor.—Public Controversies.—Needs of the Mission.—Voyage of Mgr. Rouchouze to France.—The Fate of the Marie-Joseph.

"In the Hawaiian Islands, previous to the year 1839, the control of the land was firmly established in the ruling chiefs, who reserved what portions they pleased for their own use, and divided the rest among the leading chiefs subject to them. The latter held almost despotic sway over their special domains, apportioning the land among their followers according to the whim of the moment or the demands of policy, or farming it out under their special agents, the *konohikis,* whose oppressive severity in dealing with the actual cultivators of the soil was notorious. Thus the occupancy of land was entirely subject to the will of the ruling chief, who had not only power to give, but also to take away at his royal pleasure.

"The tenants were hardly recognized as having civil rights, although they enjoyed freedom of movement and were not attached to any particular lands as belongings to the soil. If a man wanted a piece of land to live on and cultivate, he had to pay for it by a heavy rent in the shape of regular weekly labor for his landlord, with the additional liability of being called upon to assist in work of a public character, such as building a *heiau* (temple), or making a road or fishpond seawall. With all this, the tenant was liable to be ejected from his holding without notice or a chance of redress.

"This want of security in the profits of land cultivation led many to attach themselves to the persons of the chiefs as hangers-on, whereby they might be at least fed in return for the desultory services which they were called upon to perform in that capacity. These hangers-on were called *hoopilimeaai,* i. e., adhering for food."[1]

This peculiar state of Hawaiian society was the cause of the exceptionally lenient laws of fasting and abstinence which are still in force throughout Polynesia.

In the different apostolic vicariates in the Pacific Ocean, which were once included in what was called the Vicariate of Oriental Oceanica, only nine days of fasting and abstinence have to be observed by the faithful, to wit: the seven Fridays of Lent, Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Christmas.

The reason for this leniency, as indicated in a Rescript of the Congregation of the Propaganda of June 16, 1834, is *"dependentia insularum a suis principibus, tum quoad labores, tum quoad alimenta,"* that is, "the dependence of the islanders on their chiefs for work as well as for food."

We may in passing enumerate the feast days of obligation to be observed in the Hawaiian Islands. They are the following six: Christmas, Circumcision, Ascension, Assumption, All Saints and the Immaculate Conception.

1 Sanford B. Dole, Papers of Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 3, pp. 5, 6, 10, and 11.

The faculties given to the Vicar-Apostolic, and which he communicates almost entirely to the priests of his vicariate, are very extensive, including that of granting dispensation from the impediments of consanguinity and affinity, even in the first degree when mixed with the second, and in mixed marriages.

A radical change in the abnormal state of Hawaii land-tenure was effected by a Declaration of Rights, signed by the king on the 7th day of June, 1839. The draft of this bill had been made by Rev. William Richards, assisted by the natives, Boaza Mahune and Jona Kapena;[2] it was discussed and amended in the council of the chiefs at Honolulu and finally approved by the king.

Eight days late the Editor of the Sandwich Island Gazette wrote: "We hear that some new laws and regulations have been enacted for the good of the people; they have not yet been promulgated. . . . .[3]

This seems to indicate that the usual promulgation by the town crier had not been made.

However, a summary of the new laws was brought to the notice of the foreign community by the Hawaiian Spectator in its July number.

The Declaration did not guarantee religious liberty, as Professor Alexander erroneously states in his Brief History.[4] If in that month of June, 1839, the king seriously meant to grant this boon to his subjects, he had a fair opportunity of inserting a clause to that purport in this document.

It is important to take notice of several other stipulations of the annexed laws.

Section 3 removed most of the former taboos on the fisheries, particularly those without the coral reefs which line the shores. Of these taboos we shall have an opportunity to speak more in detail in the XIV and XV chapters of this history. The governors of each island were forbidden by section 11 to enact new laws without the consent of the government generally; and by the 6th section permanent possession of their lands was secured to landholders while they continued to pay the rent.

In August, only a month after the departure of l'Artémise, the Catholics had an occasion to invoke the benefit of the last quoted section.

The natives living on the lands of the chief Paki, in Koolau, a district of the island of Oahu, were told by a member of the Protestant church that Paki's wife, Konia, had ordered that all those who should embrace the Catholic religion, must give up their lands and all the property they possessed.

On the 20th of August the threat was carried out, and twenty-two Catholics were expelled from their lands. The same day they marched over in a body to Honolulu, where they arrived at sunset. On their arrival at the mission, Father Walsh thought that they had come to ask for catechisms, and as he went to get some, they entered the chapel. The priest, having followed them thither, gave them an instruction, and at the termination thereof was acquainted with what had happened.

He at once informed M. Dudoit, who lost no time in investigating the matter with Paki and Konia. Both denied any responsibility in the affair, and charged the "ekalekia"—churchmember—with having usurped their authority. When, on the next morning, the king was told of this annoyance, he manifested his displeasure, and said that he had given full liberty to all his chiefs and subjects to embrace whatever religion they thought proper.

2 S. M. Kamakau, Moolelo Hawaii, helu 112.
3 Sandwich Island Gazette, June 15, 1839.
4 p. 229.

The Catholics returned then to their homes, having received the assurance that they would not be molested for their religion in the future.[5]

Another instance of petty annoyance occurred at a place thirteen miles distant from Honolulu. There a Protestant native had a house belonging to a Catholic catechumen destroyed, under pretext that the latter intended to make a Catholic place of worship out of it. When the king was informed of this act of wanton destruction, he ordered the house to be rebuilt by those that had demolished it.[6]

These petty persecutions proved greatly favorable to the Catholic cause and were immediately followed by a considerable increase in the number of catechumens, who till then had been retained by a fear that the king would not stand by the French treaty.

At Honolulu the chapel and mission yard were habitually crowded with natives, who came to assist at Mass and to listen to the instructions.

Father Walsh, who about that time had suspended in his little chapel three images, representing the Crucifixion, the Ecce Homo and the Resurrection, took occasion thereof to explain thoroughly the Catholic doctrine anent the veneration of the Saints and their images.[7]

Every day new catechumens were enrolled, and it became necessary to enlarge the chapel. Up till that time, the chapel seems to have been, *not* the two-story adobe house which stood on the spot where now the statue of Our Lady of Peace is erected, but a one-story building.

When Father Walsh in his letter to Father Short speaks about the twenty-two Catholics from Koolau, he says: "They retired to our little chapel (the house in which Mr. Dudoit lived)"[8] And in another letter to the same of October 26, he writes: "We have built a house about 39 by 21 feet which communicates by folding doors to the large *room* where Mr. Dudoit lived. This, together with a *ranai* (lanai or veranda) contains a large congregation."

Among those that visited the mission, partly from curiosity, partly from a desire to be instructed, were several chiefs, especially Liliha, Boki's widow. It was hoped that she would embrace the religion of her late husband. Unfortunately she died rather suddenly, on August the 25th. Her funeral gathered many partizans of the old regime from the other islands. Many of them called at the "Hale Palani" and were presented with little catechisms in the native language, the reading of which prepared the field for the catechists and priests, and meanwhile removed much of the old prejudice. Writes Father Walsh: "I have distributed over 500 copies of the first part of the instructions which were written by you and Mr. Bachelot, and printed at Macao. The chiefs have taken copies of it. The King's people have taken several copies and are delighted with it. They have already discovered that the adoration of images is entirely prohibited by Catholics, and that the Pope does not look upon himself to be equal to God; that it is not with him to give salvation, and that it can be obtained without giving the sums of money which are mentioned in *Hoike Honua* by the calumniators of our Holy Religion."

The catechisms here spoken of, being the first publications in the Hawaiian language by the Catholic missionaries, deserve a special mention.

They had been composed conjointly by Fathers Bachelot and Short, and were printed in 1831 at Macao, China; they were commonly called *He Akua Akahi* (There is one God) and *He Ninau* (The Question).[9] The fascicules,

5 Letters of F. Walsh to F. Short, Aug. 29, 1839, and F. Maigret, Oct. 26, 1839.
6 Letter of F. Walsh to Mgr. of Chalcedoine, Oct. 30, 1839.
7 Letter of F. Walsh to F. Maigret, Sept. 5, 1839.
8 Letter August 29, 1839.

8½ by 5¼, were jointly put into one cover, which bore on its front page the title which we hereby reproduce:

The translation is as follows:

AN INSTRUCTION

to men in the things relating to God; according to the interpretation of God's Word given by the Pontiffs of the Church of Jesus Christ, from the times of Jesus Christ till now.

"Go and teach ye all nations."

" . . . . Behold I am with you till the end of the world."

Math. XVIII: 19, 20.

"Stand firm, and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word or by our epistle." II Thess. II: 15 (for 14).

The first part has 20 pages, and bears the title: O KE AO ANA KRISTIANO (Christian Doctrine). The first lesson begins with the words: He Akua akahi; there is one God, which were commonly used to designate the booklet.

It is divided into twelve paragraphs or lessons, one of which was to be recited every morning and evening. The first four lessons develop the Apostle's Creed; the Capital Sins and the Theological Virtues together with the 10 Commandments are given in the fifth lesson; the following three paragraphs give a short explanation of the Commandments and in the 8th, the six precepts of the Church are also indicated. In the 9th and 10th lessons we have the enumeration of the Sacraments with a definition of each of them. The 11th paragraph treats of prayer, and has the Our Father and Hail Mary, whilst the last chapter contains an exhortation to assist at Mass, and winds up with the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity and Contrition.

Only one copy of this booklet is known to exist: it is in the Archives of the Motherhouse of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, at Braine-le-Comte, bound in a collection of autograph letters, vol. II, No. 27.

The second part has 48 pages. The subtitle on page 1, *He Ninua* (for Ninau) *ma ke Ao Ana Kristiano,* has become the principal title in a second edition, published at Paris in 1841.

It is divided into thirty-three lessons, fifteen of which are consecrated to the explanation of the Apostles' Creed, twelve to the Commandments of God and of the Church, one to the Sacraments, three to prayer, while one treats of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

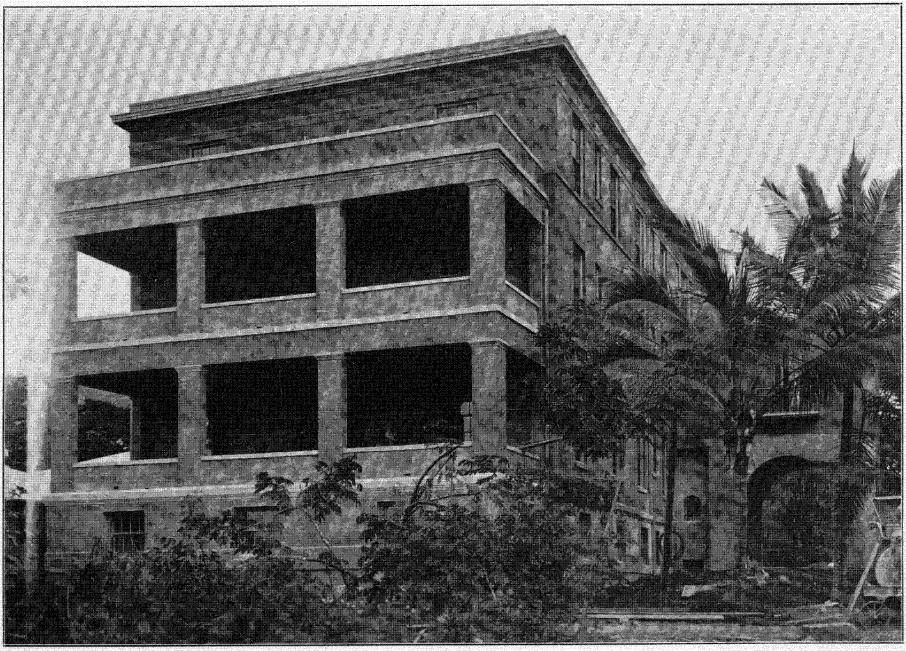
Only four copies of this booklet are known to exist. These two catechisms are written in rather imperfect Hawaiian, and moreover contain a considerable number of typographical errors. Hence all the copies have corrections in the handwriting of Father Walsh [10], except the copy in the Arch. M. H., which has corrections in Father Bachelot's handwriting.

A little publication of 48 pages, 5¼ by 3½ inches, issued in 1841 from the press of Migne, Paris, together with the new edition of "He Ninau ma ke Ao ana Kristiano," and which has for title *"He Ninau hoike no na Kakerema ahiku, na Aleki Bakelo i kakau a i hoopono pono hou ia ma kekahi vahi,"* i. e. "A Catechism of the Seven Sacraments, written by Alexis Bachelot and corrected in some places," seems to have had also an earlier edition, of which no copy is known to exist.

From the lesson on Matrimony contained in this publication, it does not follow that the first Catholic missionaries considered that marriages concluded between heretics are invalid, as might appear from what Rev. Lowell Smith writes in the Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 371: "He (Father Walsh) tells the

9 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, VIII, pp. 22, 23.

10 Letter of F. Walsh to F. Short, Aug. 29, 1839.—Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 1833, p. 106.



ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL, HONOLULU

OUR LADY OF THE MOUNT
Kalihi-uka, near Honolulu

people that they have never been legally married, and that we missionaries are living in adultery."

Such an opinion would have been erroneous, considering that the decree *Tametsi* of the Council of Trent, was not in force in the Sandwich Islands, nor in the parts of the United States the Protestant missionaries hailed from.

It is stated indeed that a common law marriage, contracted between baptized persons, if they could have obtained the blessing of a priest, would be sinful. Hence, even if in this term "baptized persons," Father Bachelot had meant to include heretics, it is not said that the marriages between them would be invalid but simply illicit. However, it is probable that only Catholics were intended, since the Prefect-Apostolic may have held the baptism of the Hawaiian Presbyterians and Congregationalists as invalid or at least doubtful.[11]

Father Walsh did not limit his zeal to the distribution of catechisms; in the words of Rev. Mr. Smith, which at once indicate the activity of the Catholic missionary and the pessimism with which the Protestant ministers regarded their own results, "he spared no pains to infuse the leaven of Romanism in the minds of the half-convicted people."[12]

He himself writes to Father Short: "I have very little time to spare either for writing or for reading. Sick calls are very numerous, and sometimes I have to go a great distance to baptize persons *in periculo mortis*."[13]

In his efforts he was ably seconded by the Catholic natives, whose zeal in making others partakers of their own happiness, is forcibly described by Rev. Mr. Bishop. He writes: "With a zeal worthy of a better cause, no part of this island (Oahu) has been left unexplored by the native Catholics to find proselytes for their system. These labors have been attended with some success, in raising up a party opposed to their former spiritual guides, and in drawing off our congregations, by getting up meetings of their own in every neighborhood where a sufficient number can be collected."[14] And again: "Numbers who have long and perseveringly withstood the word of God and continued in impenitence are now flaming papists, going about the country seeking proselytes on the promise of health to the sick and life and salvation to all, and denouncing us as blind deceivers of the blind."[15]

Whilst thus the Catholic mission, unencouraged by the chiefs, but left free, went on increasing, so to say, by its own impetus, the Protestant mission's progress was suddenly stopped, not so much perhaps through the Catholic competition, as through the withdrawal of the compulsory backing of the government.

"The present state of feeling among the people is quite unlike anything that I have ever seen before," writes one of the missionaries in the Missionary Herald. "Books are in very little demand; schools very poorly attended; teachers leaving their work, and going to other employments, because we cannot support them, and the people can not or will not do it. I hope, however, this state of things will, ere long, pass away; I hope and trust it may."[16]

Although the number of catechumens daily increased, Father Walsh was not too hasty in admitting them to baptism; neither was he so difficult as some of

11 Cf. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, VI, p. 104 et seq.; also, chapter XI, p. .. of this volume.
12 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 371.
13 Letter to F. Short, Sept. 5th, 1839.
14 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 372.
15 Annual Reports to A. B. C. F. M., 1841, p. 167. For these faithcures see Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 1842, p. 378, and Missionary Herald, 1840, pp. 372, 373.
16 Rev. Mr. Emerson in Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 374.

the Protestant ministers. What he required was a thorough instruction in the Catholic doctrine; for the improvement of their morals he trusted to the repeated reception of the sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion, well knowing that the Church is not a gathering of perfect men, but a training school of holiness.

On the 26th of October he wrote to Father Short: "I intend preparing from a hundred to 150 for baptism shortly. They know the "He Akua Akahi" and a great many of them a part of "Ka Ninau," but it is necessary to ground them in the sense of the words of these books, lest any of them might be seduced by the *elect.* For this purpose I ask them several questions on the Christian doctrine, to which several of them give very correct answers."[17]

The majority of these catechumens seem not to have been able to pass their examination on the appointed day, for on the 16th of November, only 25 men and 37 women received baptism.[18]

Apart from these 62 adults, Father Walsh administered the Sacrament to 133 children, 30 men and 45 women at different times between the proclamation of religious liberty and the arrival of Mgr. Rouchouze on May 14th of the following year. The total number of those that had been baptized in the islands up till that date by the members of the Catholic mission amounted to 550.[19]

Meanwhile Father Columba Murphy had remained quietly at Honolulu, where he does not seem to have exercised the ministry, probably studying theology under Father Walsh's direction. He left on la Clèmentine towards the end of October, 1839, and having touched at Valparaiso, arrived at Mangareva on March 26 of the following year. From him Mgr. Rouchouze appears to have learned for the first time about the happy results which the visit of L'Artémise had brought about in the Sandwich Islands. La Clémentine, having to return thither, the prelate eagerly seized the opportunity of visiting that important division of his vicariate. He consequently left Mangareva on the 5th of April, 1840, accompanied by Fathers Louis Maigret, Columba Murphy and Armand Chausson; but on passing through the Marquesas Islands he took from there Fathers Ernest Heurtel and Dositheus Desvault, leaving Messrs. Murphy and Chausson to fill their places.

The 15th of May the vessel came to anchor at Honolulu.[20] The news of the Bishop's arrival at once spread through the village. On the shore, which was thronged with crowds of the curious, the company was cordially welcomed by Father Walsh, who conducted them to his little chapel where they were awaited by over three hundred catechumens and neophytes. After the singing of the *Te Deum* they passed into the yard where those of the faithful who had suffered most during the persecution were presented to His Lordship.[21]

On the following Sunday Mgr. Rouchouze celebrated a solemn pontifical Mass; the crowd which thronged the chapel and the premises was estimated at 5,000 people.

May 29, two hundred copies of an Hawaiian alphabet were printed for the use of the Catholic schools, which the priests were anxious to open as soon as possible.[22]

17 Letter, Oct. 26, 1839.
18 Honolulu Baptism Records.
19 Ibidem.
20 F. Maigret's Diary.
21 Annals Propagation Faith, 1842, p. 270.
22 F. Maigret's Diary.

On the vigil of Pentecost, which happened on June 5th, ninety-two adults were solemnly christened by the Vicar-Apostolic. The new missionaries were not hampered by the ignorance of the language as Fathers Bachelot and Short had been. Knowing the dialects of Mangareva and the Marquesas, they rapidly acquired a working knowledge of Hawaiian, in which idiom Fathers Maigret and Dositheus were able to preach within three weeks after their arrival.[23] They were thus free to give rein to their zeal; nor did they work in vain; at the close of the year 1840, 2049 persons had been admitted to baptism on the island of Oahu, counting from the day the Edict of Tolerance was promulgated.

Moreover, a new mission had been founded on the Big Island. But before we speak of this extension of missionary activity, we would like to mention a spirited effort by one of the younger Protestant missionaries to convert the members of the Catholic mission to the Protestant tenets, which, could he have succeeded, would have stopped the Catholic propaganda better than banishment, forced labor or floods of misrepresentation.

On June 13th the Reverend Lowell Smith, pastor of Kaumakapili Church at Honolulu, called on Father Maigret. We have the following account of the interview by Mgr. Rouchouze:

"One of these days, one of them (of the Protestant missionaries) came and asked to have a talk with Father Maigret. He was a young man, who intended to enlighten us, and who regarded us simply as blind ones. He claimed that we are idolaters, pitied greatly the condition we were in, and promised to send books to Father Maigret. The latter engaged himself to read every one of them to the last line, provided that the minister was equally to read those which we would lend him.

"It having thus been agreed, he returned the next day armed with I do not know which work, and for a long time discussed images, the Bible and confession. Finally, giving up all hope of converting us, he left, deploring the fate of those poor Roman Catholics who would have virtue if they were not idolaters."

The prelate continues: "Mr. Bingham, having been informed of the affair is said to have conceived a favorable impression of our moderation and tolerance, but he blamed the imprudence of his young companion for having advanced himself so far in the controversy.

"The young minister seems really to be in good faith, and it is possible that among them some persons are in that case. We, also, judge them to be pitied rather than to be blamed. Moreover, they are said to lead a mortified life, eating only vegetables and milkfood. Almost all of them have the same physiognomy; they are lean, pale and lank; they speak little, whilst their countenance is modest, recollected, always mysterious and somber.

"Their principal occupation is the translation of the Bible; all their preaching consists in the reading of the Divine Book. One of them, however, who has recently arrived from the United States, had it printed that the Bible has converted but few people, and that the greatest advantage it till then had furnished was limited to being a reader for the children, and that consequently catechisms are preferable for the people."[24]

A few days previous to the visit of this missionary, a French man-of-war, the Pylade, had arrived. On Sunday the officers and a part of the crew assisted at the celebration of a military Mass. The king and his retinue also attended, and at the close of the ceremonies His Majesty called upon the Bishop.

23 M. Maigret's Diary.
24 Lettres Lithographiees, I. p. 684.

It was now thought that the time had come to establish a mission on the Big Island, and Fathers Walsh and Heurtel were consequently put in charge of this undertaking. They embarked for Hawaii on the 23rd of June, and on their arrival at Kailua three days later were well received by the governor, Kuakini, who on the same day sent them a present of fish. A few days afterward he put a stone building, which was in a somewhat dilapidated condition, at their disposal. A young chief (Leleiohoku), a son of the late Kalanimoku, also showed himself very favorable to the newcomers, and did much to advance their cause.[25]

Kuakini himself was at that time under a sentence of excommunication, Father Walsh says, for wearing flower wreaths and such like worldly adornments.[26]

Rev. Mr. Forbes, who was one of the missionaries in charge of the Kona mission, does not enumerate the wearing of wreaths among the causes which call for church discipline. It may therefore be that the reason of the Governor's disgrace was that he had whiled away his time in playing cards; perhaps he had even indulged in that pernicious habit of smoking tobacco, thereby unduly risking his life, which was yet so necessary to the nation. The very extraordinary account a missionary, given of the effects of tobacco smoking, may be read in the Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 156. The account is well-nigh incredible; however, it must be said that Hawaiian tobacco is exceedingly heavy and strong.

In August the suspended chieftain was restored to church-membership, not repenting though of his former wickedness, but expressly stipulating that he would continue to adorn his soul's temple in native style.[27]

Although curiosity and an inclination for novelty caused their chapel to be crowded on Sundays, and even the chiefs attended the services, the two priests could not flatter themselves with much success during the first few months. At the repeated request of Father Walsh, the Bishop came over to stimulate the good cause by his presence. Withal, at the end of the year they had registered only fifteen baptisms, of which twelve were of adults and the rest of infants, whilst four had been administered in danger of death.[28]

They found it very difficult to make an impression on the people, the reason hereof appearing to be that the minds of the natives had been prejudiced against the "papists" by the reading of a Church history written in the Hawaiian language by the Rev. J. S. Green.

When reading the following extracts from this curious booklet, strangely labeled a "History," one will readily understand why the natives were timid to embrace the "Pope's religion."

After having told his readers on p. 31, how the first Pope came into existence in the year of Our Lord 606 (ignoring the sixty-six predecessors of Boniface III for convenience's sake), the Hawaiian Eusebius explains in a few pithy sentences how that wonderful Roman Priest, living on through the centuries when everybody around him died, succeeded in bringing and keeping all Christendom under his sway.

"At that time (A. D. 606) the sinfulness of the world was exceedingly great. Truly devout people were few in number, and *these lived far from Rome.* God had not given the Holy Ghost; therefore the people were unconverted to righteousness. They were confirmed in sloth and in obstinacy of heart, and most of the people of that time acted sinfully. *For this reason they were ready to follow the Pope.*

25 Lettres Lithographiees, I. p. 714.
26 Letter to Mgr. Rouchouze, Aug. 14, 1840; to F. Maigret, June 29, 1839.
27 Letter of F. Walsh, Aug. 14, 1840.
28 Kailua Baptism Records.

"About some things the Pope did to increase his power:

1. He forbade men to read the word of God.

2. He tried to proselytize the people of all lands. His servants went to all countries to baptize the ignorant people in order to make them his. And if they refused and did not want to become his servants, the *Pope's servants made war upon them and vanquished them.* In this way his followers increased exceedingly.

3. The Pope filled his churches with statues and approved of the people who prayed to (*mamuli*, after) them.

4. The Pope consented that many become monks; they lived alone in caves and in holes and in the desert, *passing their time in idleness.* They were slaves of the Pope.

5. The Pope allowed men to go and seek for the bones of the Apostles and of pious people; he allowed them also to seek the true cross of Jesus, and all kind of things; and he allowed them to sell those things that they might be worshipped by men. All Judea was searched; and if anyone found some *old bones of men or of animals*, they brought them to Rome, *and sold them for very big money.*

6. For the money which ignorant people gave him the Pope forgave men their sins *and allowed them to commit sin.* The Pope said that God had given him power to forgive all sins; consequently many murderers, fornicators, thieves and all kind of evildoers went frequently to him, gave the Pope money, and he told every one of them, as follows: "Your sins and your crimes are forgiven."

On account of these evil proceedings the Pope got immensely rich; and many sinners became his servants.

7. The Pope announced to men that he had the power to deliver the souls of those that remain in the *inextinguishable fire of hell.* Many then went to him, asking him to deliver the souls of their parents, of their children, of their relations and of their friends; and they gave great sums of money to the Pope."[29]

All this was certainly very wicked, but

"8. Here is something else the Pope did to increase his power. He built a great prison. And if it was thought that somebody had sinned against the Pope, they cast him quick in that prison, and his goods were confiscated in favor of the Pope; he (probably the offender of the Pope) died finishing his days in that house."[30]

It is hardly imaginable that the Roman monster of iniquity could have pushed his abominations any further, however, on page 53 we find

"Something else the Pope did to make his church stronger. He persecuted all those that did not worship in accordance with his wishes. So he did in all the countries of Europe. It is thought that 50,000,000 (fifty million) men perished in the persecution. The majority of these people lived in Italy, Holland, Spain, France, Germany and England."

These "50,000,000" victims of the Pope are not a product of the printer's devil. Armstrong gives proof of the bad faith with which these figures were produced by himself and his colleague when he writes in the Nonanona, Jan. 4, 1842, p. 4:

"ON THE PEOPLE KILLED BY THE PAPISTS FOR RESISTING THEM. We read that 200,000 were killed within seven years in the time of Pope Julius. In three months 100,000 were killed in France because they opposed the Pope. Of the Waldensers 1,000,000 were killed. Within 30 years 900,000 were put to death by the Jesuits in Europe. The Duke of Alva caused 30,000 to be hanged. In Ireland 150,000 were slain at the same time. Some learned people figure that the number of people killed by the Papists in 1,400 years amounts to fifty million men. People of Hawaii, what do you think of the Papist religion? Does it seem good to you? . . . ."

As if it were bad enough to make the Popes responsible for all the people slain in the wars and revolutions which raged in Europe for fourteen centuries, and to accuse peaceful priests with wholesale slaughter, the poor Catholic Irish victims of Cromwell and William of Orange must be made to swell the number of the Pope's slaughtered enemies, unless perhaps, forgetting the hundred

29 He Moolelo no ka Ekalesia o Jesu Kristo, Lahainaluna, 1835, pp. 32, 33.
30 Ibidem, p. 34.

thousands massacred by these defenders of the Protestant faith, those Protestants are meant who in 1641 fell under the swords of the exasperated Irish whom unjustly they had robbed of their property.

It is really refreshing after all this to be informed on the following page that "the church of Rome is not so strong any more as it used to be."[31]

There we find also some light anent that prison which the Pope had built for his enemies. We had thought that perhaps the castle of San Angelo was meant, but it appears to have been the Bastille of Paris, for among the causes of the weakening of the Papacy is also enumerated:

"The rebellion of the French against their princes, and the overthrow of *the great prison.* It was Bonaparte who humiliated the Pope and who destroyed the great prison (hale paahao nui) in Europe."

Whilst the priests at Kailua struggled laboringly to eradicate the prejudices which the reading of this and similar books had created, their mission on Oahu was steadily progressing. The chapel at Honolulu had since long been insufficient to contain the always increasing number of neophytes.

It was therefore resolved to start the building of a spacious stone church of 115 by 50 feet, and on the 22nd of June, 1840, a contract was made with a Mr. F. J. Greenway, whereby this gentleman agreed to do the specified "carpenter's and mason's work and to find all the materials to this end and completion of the church for the sum of $14,150."[32]

On the 9th of July, a date so dear to the members of the Catholic mission, the ground was broken, and on the 6th of August, the cornerstone was laid by Mgr. Rouchouze in presence of the king, Governor Kekuanaoa and the officers of the French sloop-of-war Danaide, which happened to be in port.[33] "The cornerstone was laid in the corner where stands (in 1858) the side altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the men's side; for there the building terminated before."[34]

In agreement with the treaty of the preceding year, a piece of land had been granted for the purpose, the site of which was, according to Rev. Lowell Smith, "some thirty-five or forty rods southwest from our new meetinghouse,"[35] i. e., the old Kaumakapili church on Beretania street. It is the lot called Pakea, at the mauka-Waikiki corner of Hotel and Smith streets.

It was, however, resolved not to build the cathedral on that lot, but on the place already occupied by the mission since 1828, and to erect the sanctuary on the site of the early chapel. "If nothing changes, our actual little chapel, which we may regard as the cradle of Catholicism in Oceania, will be the sanctuary of the church we are going to build."[36]

In a dairy of a lay brother we read: "They started working on the *new straw* chapel and school, in order afterwards to demolish the old chapel and to erect the sanctuary and steeple in its place. New preparations to enlarge and lengthen the church are being made."[37]

This temporary chapel and school was finished December 11, 1841, and on the 30th of that month a beginning was made with the digging of the foundations for the sanctuary and steeple.[38] After much interruption and difficulty,

31 Ibidem, p. 54.
32 Greenway's Specifications.
33 Maigret's Diary.
34 F. Maigret, Haimanava, 1840, August 6. (Presently the altar of St. Joseph.)
35 Missionary Herald, 1840, p. 371.
36 Letter of F. Maigret to Bishop of Calcedoine, June 22, 1840.
37 Bro. Calixte's Diary, Nov. 24, 1841.
38 Ibidem.

on account of Mr. Greenway's bankruptcy, the cathedral was completed in August, 1843, and solemnly blest and dedicated to Our Lady of Peace on the 15th of that month.[39]

The above given quotations sufficiently show that the chapel built by Father Bachelot in 1828, "the cradle of Catholicism in Oceania," was demolished in December, 1841; hence the square two-story adobe house which stood where is now the statue of Our Lady of Peace, is *not* what it was claimed to be, the *first* Catholic church in the Hawaiian Islands. Neither is it altogether right to say that the chapel which was replaced by the present cathedral was. For one of the three grasshouses spoken of in Chapter IV was used as a chapel for over five months before 1828. When they moved to the present mission premises they set apart half of their new dwelling as a chapel, and dedicated it to the SS. Hearts. It could contain 40 persons, and in it, two partitions were made with mats to serve as sacristies.[40] The house here spoken of was finished Jan. 11; the Fathers slept in it for the first time three days later.[41]

Before the laying of the cornerstone had told Hawaii that Catholicism had come to stay, Reverend Mr. Bingham had quit the field. For the sake of his wife's impaired health, he obtained permission to visit his native land, and embarked August the 3d, never more to tread the Hawaiian soil.

It was Mr. Bingham's intention to return to the mission of which he was the founder. But as after several years the health of Mrs. Bingham failed to improve, he asked and received towards the beginning of 1846, a release from his connection with the American Board. In the year 1863, friends of Protestant missions in different parts of the United States united in securing for him an annuity, by which he was enabled to pass a comfortable old age. He died November 11, 1869.[42]

For the man's animosity against Catholics and the several failings it made him fall into, we should perhaps not judge him harshly. If one has studied Church history in the Centuriators of Magdeburg, and. theology in a New England college of the beginning of the XIX century, he cannot be expected to see in the Catholic Church anything but "the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs" (think of the 50,000,000!) "of Jesus . . . the habitation of devils, and the hold of every unclean spirit, and the hold of every unclean and hateful bird."[43]

Mr. Bingham's temper was a domineering one, and caused him to be disliked by his own brethren. Mr. Rufus Anderson says of him:

"Two successive kings, and the chief men and women who ruled in his time, deferred unconsciously to the moral power he was exerting upon them, and the strong-minded, strong-willed Kaahumanu was very much like him, after her conversion, in the best features of her mind and character. It is believed that in matters of religion there was generally a mutual sympathy and cooperation between them. The traits of character, which sometimes embarrassed the deliberations when he was in council with his brother missionaries, and which perhaps prevented his acquiring a large personal influence among the churches of his native land, were among the things required in the peculiar circumstances of his position, in the first twenty years of the mission. . . .

"It was scarcely possible for Mr. Bingham, if returned to the Islands, to resume his old relations, and work with the ease and freedom of olden times. Missionaries were no longer insulated and independent forces. A Christian commonwealth had

39 Relatio Vicarii Apostolici Ins. Sandw. ad S. Congr. de Prop. Fide December, 1864, p. 2.
40 Bachelot's Letter to Condrin, April 14, 1828, and March 19, 1828.
41 Letter of Short to Cummins, April 15, 1828.
42 Letter of Rufus Anderson to Sandw. Isl. Mission, Jan. 22, 1846; and Rufus Anderson's History of the Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. to the Sandwich Islands, 1872, pp. 232, 235.
43 Apoc. XVII:6, and XVIII:2.

arisen, and a community of interests. It was understood to be the belief of Mr. Bingham himself, that, after so long an absence, he would not be able to accommodate himself to the new state of things."[44]

Mr. Bingham's place at Honolulu was taken by the Rev. Richard Armstrong (in Hawaiian, *Limaikaika*), a man not less saturated with prejudice than his predecessor. A graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, he had arrived in the Sandwich Islands in May, 1832; the following year he left for the Washington Islands where he remained less than a year, and on his return to his former mission, he was stationed at Wailuku on the island of Maui. He was the author of a controversional tract entitled *"Hoikepope"* which we may translate as "An Arraignment of the Pope." This pamphlet is as bad a misrepresentation of Catholic doctrines as was ever printed. *"Catholics* say that the pope is impeccable; he absolutely cannot commit sin," is a fair sample of the rest.

By the foundation of an Hawaiian semi-monthly paper, called *"Nonanona"* (The Ant), and worse yet by his becoming minister of Public Instruction, he was to be one of the most implacable adversaries the Catholics ever had in the Islands. But for him, Catholics and Protestant might have lived together in peace, and worked conjointly at the uplifting of the Hawaiian race.

Public controversies were soon in order: two instances are related by Father Dositheus in the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. III, pp. 272 et seq.

If these discussions were not without acrimony, they also served to allay much prejudice. At the end of his relation of the second conference with Rev. Mr. Bishop, Father Dositheus says: "I was pleased at perceiving that this minister showed a moderation which I did not expect. He concluded by advising his disciples not to insult our Christians. I, on my side, gave the same recommendation to our neophytes, and we parted good friends."

Soon we see priests and ministers visiting each other and even dining together. The relations with the king and chiefs grew also more and more cordial.

On November 9, 1840, arrived a first reinforcement, consisting of Fathers Martial Jan, Denys Maudet, Mr. Barnabé Castan, and the laybrothers Vincent, Calixte Lecomte and Juste Faribault. They arrived in the ship Philanthrope, Capt. Jayer.[45]

Mr. Barnabé was not a priest yet, but was ordained by the Bishop of Nilopolis during the month of December.[46]

The mission was firmly established now, but the work of extension was hampered by many wants. The schools were in need of books, the churches in need of ornaments and vestments that the ceremonies might be conducted with suitable solemnity; money, the sinew of propaganda as well as of war, was lacking entirely, though much needed for the building of the cathedral and other churches, for schools and for the support of the missionaries. Moreover, albeit there were now seven priests besides the Bishop, their number was far too small to evangelize successfully the whole archipelago.

These considerations prompted Mgr. Rouchouze to undertake a voyage to France there to obtain the means of filling these several wants. He embarked on the 3rd of January, 1841, accompanied by two native boys from the Sand-

44 History of the Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. to the Sandwich Islands, 1872, pp. 233-235.
45 F. Maigret's Diary.
46 Mr. Maigret, Haimanava, p. 7.

wich Islands, and two from Mangareva, probably with the intention of educating them in France either for the priesthood or for catechists.[47]

Having successfully carried out his enterprise, the Bishop was ready to reembark for his missions towards the end of 1842. He embarked at St. Malo on the 15th of December on the brig Marie-Joseph in company with six priests, one subdeacon, seven laybrothers, ten sisters and Evarist, one of the aforementioned Mangareva boys.

The Marie-Joseph was a brig of 128 tons which had been built that same year. She was commanded by a Captain O'Sullivan and had a crew consisting of twelve men.[48]

The last time anything was heard of the vessel was from the Island of St. Cathérine, off the Brazilian coast, under date of February 11, 1843. There the party landed to bury one of the sisters and the young native.

Recently it has been stated that on the Marshall Islands a tradition exists concerning the arrival of a French vessel having on board a bishop, priests and sisters. The passengers would have come ashore and approached the natives with various demonstrations of friendship, which were met with a rain of arrows. The captain wanted to repell the attack by a fusillade but the Bishop forbade him, saying: "We would kill them uselessly; this were not fitting for missionaries who come to bring these people a message of peace." They then knelt down in prayer and were massacred, the captain and his sailors escaping, it is thought in a boat.[49]

The preceding story is on the authority of a white man by the name of Fleming who had lived on the Marshall Islands, and had married there a native woman.

Another version of perhaps the same story was collected by a Catholic missionary who in 1910 visited the Arno atoll. According to it, a small boat with eight white people should have come to the atoll about the time the Marie-Joseph met her fate. The visitors had black beards; one seemed older than the rest, as his beard was getting grey, whilst another was judged much younger than his companions, on account of his budding whiskers. Two of the strangers remained in the boat whilst the others were conducted by the natives to a place where they could drink, as it was thought that they were looking for water. When numerous boats filled with natives arrived from the various islands in the atoll, the two men in the boat became alarmed, and gave a signal, whereupon the ones on shore made for the boat with great hurry. The natives then followed and attacked them, and killed the whole party of eight. In the pockets of the slain ones were found pearl beads, and in the boat two bags of tobacco, bags full of clothing among which were long black garments, some hatchets, a harpoon and some soap.

The event had been recorded by the inhabitants in a song, in which the word "missionary" occurs. This attracted the attention of the priest and induced him to inquire about the facts. The natives said that they had taken the "missionare" to be the name of the oldest man of the visiting party.

These details were had from the mouth of one of the murderers, who in 1910 was thought to be between 80 and 90 years, and said that the thing occurred before the birth of his wife who actually was 60 or 70 years.[50]

The Fleming story is obviously not a native tradition of the massacre.

47 F. Maigret's Diary.
48 Annales des Sacres Coeurs, 1910, p. 111.
49 Annales des Sacres Coeurs, 1910, p. 76.
50 H. Linckens, Auf den Marshall Inseln. 1911, pp. 46-50.

What did the Marshall-islanders of the 40's know about the French, bishops, priests and sisters? How could they understand the conversation between the victims?

As far as the second narrative is concerned, it is so highly improbable that the Marie-Joseph or any of its boats should have reached the Marshall Islands, that the mere details of pearl beads and long coats do not seem to warrant identifying the massacred crew with passengers of the lost French vessel.

March 13, 1843, a French vessel was seen at 51 deg. lat. south, and 62 deg. long. west, which is somewhere to the Northwest of the Falkland Islands, so to say, at the entrance of the Strait of Magellan.[51]

The Marie-Joseph had been at anchor off Desterro, St. Catherine, for about two weeks during the month of February. It is therefore presumable that the French ship mentioned above, is no other but the one which carried the unfortunate Vicar-Apostolic and his companions, and that she was wrecked in that perilous Straits of Magellan where so many vessels before her had found a briny grave.[52]

51 Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XVII, p. 152.
52 For a description of a tempest in that Strait, see Dumont d'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde, II, p. 540.

CHAPTER XIV

The School Question—A Struggle for Life

School law of October 15, 1840.—Catholic Principles on Education.—Reasons for Catholic opposition against Hawaiian Common Schools.—Father Maigret's Policy.—His Normal School.—Schoolbooks.—The Centuries.—Success of Catholic Schools.—School law of May 21, 1841.—Oppressive Taboos.—The Embuscade.—French Demands.—Dionisio of Molokai.—Catholic Pupils Punished.—King advocates Harmony.—The Friend on F. Maigret's Normal School.—The Ahuimanu grant.—Department of Public Instruction.—Admiral Tromelin, the Poursuivante.—French Outrage.—Further concessions.—No Privileges asked.

At the Annual Meeting of the A. B. C. F. M. of 1837, the following rule was adopted: "It shall be the duty of the Prudential Committee to affix a limit to the annual expense of each mission." The expenses for the current year were restricted to $30,000 for the Hawaiian Mission.[1] Somewhat later the Protestant missionaries were informed that $35,000 would be the limit which their expenses would not be expected to exceed.[2] In another letter secretary Anderson wrote: "I also send you a copy of the paper on limiting the expenses of the missions, which was submitted to the Board, as I happen to have such a copy by me, and the information may be useful. You will do well to be prepared for the worst, and yet hope for the best."[3] And again: "The more the natives help themselves, and the more disposition they manifest to do so, the more encouragement will there be to help them and you, with funds and men."[4]

The Protestant missionaries, thus urged and constrained to cut down their expenses, deliberated in their general meeting, which was held at Honolulu during the months of May and June, 1840, on the means of this urgency. One of the means devised was to put the burden of the schools on the shoulders of the nation without losing control of education.

A committee of three was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Armstrong, Dibble and Andrews, to confer with the King and chiefs on the subject of education. It was, however, voted that 50 dollars be appropriated to each station for common schools.[5]

It is perhaps a mere coincidence that as a committee of three missionaries appointed in 1828 had started the campaign against the Catholics, so now also a similar committee was to be the first cause of a series of annoyances which caused much mental suffering to the Catholic priests, and a good deal of bodily suffering to many of their neophytes.

The promulgation of a school law on October 15, 1840, had certainly a closer relation with the missionary committee than that of mere coincidence, as we may well infer from the following extract:

"It was known that the government had, for more than a year, had before them a project of a law for the encouragement of education. The better and more intelligent class of the people were ready to second the will of the government on the subject.

1 General Letters, Oct. 30, 1837, p. 1.
2 General Letters, May 22, 1839.
3 Ibidem, Oct. 8, 1839.
4 Ibidem, Dec. 14, 1839.
5 Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting, p. 20.

The thing, however, moved slowly. The friends of education waited for the chiefs to take the lead. The teachers feared that nothing would be done . . . . . .[6]

For the understanding of the history of this period, it is necessary to give some rather lengthy extracts of this school law. The following are translations from the Hawaiian text:

Art. 1. Whenever there is any number of parents having fifteen or more children of a suitable age to attend school, if they live near each other, in the same village, or in the same township, it shall be their duty to procure themselves a teacher, which they shall do in the following manner:

The tax-officer shall give notice by a crier of the time and place at which all the male parents of the township, district or village shall meet, and they shall choose three of their number as a school-committee for that place. If the number of children in any place be less than fifteen, then their fathers shall unite with another company nearby.

Art. 2. Said school-committee shall then go to some neighboring *missionary*, and together they will look out for a teacher. If there are only a few children, one teacher will be sufficient, but when there are many children, let there be two teachers, and if there are very many, three or more teachers may be appointed. The school-committee may act in this according to their judgment.

Art. 3. When they (to wit, the missionary of the place, the teacher and the school-committee) have found a teacher, they will confer as to his salary, and after they have reached an agreement, the school-committee shall tax the people according to the need of the teacher or teachers of that place. They shall proceed as follows: They select a piece of uncultivated land, and going to the landlord of that place, they show it to him. Then, that land is transferred to the King for the benefit of the teacher.

Art. 4. That land shall be cultivated in the following way: Three public labor-days (la paahao) of the King will yearly be set apart for the teacher; also three days of the landlords, and three days of the people. The teacher shall say what kind of work has to be performed on the land.

And if any one, either vagrant or resident, does not go to work on the appointed days, he will have to pay a fine of one quarter.

The male pupils also shall work for the teacher, each six hours a week. However, children under eight years and sickly ones, are not obliged to work.

Art. 5. Another reward for the teachers is the following: They need not go to the public work of the King and the landlords. Neither will they have to pay the poll-tax, whilst they remain in charge of the school. Their wives also enjoy the same privileges. . . . If no land can be found, the school-committee and the *missionary* will look for means to support the teacher. The committee shall tax the people, the landlords and the chiefs, as they shall find it proper, so that all equally contribute to education.

Art. 6. It would not be just that all teachers receive the same salary. Very able teachers, who work assidiously, and have many pupils, ought to have a high salary. But he who has less capacity and works less, let him have also less wages. Nor should anybody be considered a teacher in accordance with the law, unless he has received a teacher's certificate from the teacher of the *Lahaina high school* (an arch-protestant, private institution, Author) or from the school-superintendents.

Art. 8. Wherever the children suffer from the lack of good schools, the school-committee shall confer with the people of the place, and the latter shall make a school according to the directions of the committee. As this is a work which is not only for the benefit of the chiefs but of the citizens as well, it will not be done on public work days.

If any one does not go to work on the days appointed by the school-committee, he shall be fined in the same way as those who absent themselves from the public works.

Art. 9. The following children are obliged to go to school: all those from 4 till 14 years of age. And if any one has a child that ought to go to school, and is yet under eight years, and the father does not send it to school, that father shall have to work nine days during the year, on the land of the teacher. This is the fine ignorant people have to pay for their children.

6 Annual Letter of the Hawaiian Mission, 1841, June. Reports A. B. C. F. M. 1842, p. 172.

But if it be a big child over eight years of age, and does not go to school, then, that child will have to work for the teacher two days every week. This is the fine for children who are too lazy to attend school. However, there will not be school all the days of the week. There are only five school days: Saturday being a restday.

Art. 11. If a teacher does not do his work well, if he is lazy or of bad morals, then he will be judged by the school-committee and the missionary of that place. If they think it proper to suspend his pay or to dismiss him entirely, they are free to do so . . .

Art. 15. The pupils of the high school of Lahainaluna are exempted of taxes and of the work for the chiefs, and all pupils that attend school regularly, and study geography, reading and the other branches taught in the schools of the school-committee, those pupils shall not be required for the work of the King and of the landlords, until they reach the age of 18 years.

Art. 16. Thus this law stands for the moment, but if at the time the chiefs and deputies meet, they think it proper to cut or add some, they may do what they think fit.

This law will become obligatory on the day of its promulgation in a place or country, and if not promulgated, it will become obligatory for all Hawaii, on the 1st day of January, 1841.

Made by the Chiefs of Hawaii at Lahaina, Maui,
October 15, 1840, A.D.
KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI.[7]

The clauses regarding the interference of the missionary of the place in the appointment and removal of teachers, might well have been made to embrace the Catholic priests, who were, to say the least, as much entitled to be called missionaries as the ministers of the Protestant faith. In fact, however, only the latter were meant. These were thus certainly greatly privileged above their Catholic rivals, and this discrimination was considered by the latter as a violation of the French treaty of July 12, 1839, art. I, which read:

The Catholic religion is declared free in all the islands subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands; the members of this communion *shall enjoy all the privileges granted to Protestants.*

Apart from this discrimination, the school law appears fair on the face of it, its only aim seeming to be to promote the causes of education.

Why then, did the Rev. Mr. Smith, speaking of these school laws, say at the very beginning: "I apprehend that the Papists will refuse to comply with the law, and perhaps will make difficulty."[8]

He foresaw that the Catholics would object vigorously, because he knew well that that school law had been framed as a weapon against them. These so-called "common schools" to which attendance was made obligatory, were of such a nature that no Catholic could conscientiously send his children thither.

Before showing that the Hawaiian common schools of the early forties, were merely and emphatically Protestant sectarian schools, it may be expedient to state here the Catholic principles concerning school education.

At the basis is the great axiom which Leo XIII formulated in one of his letters on the school question:

"The character and circumstances of the times in which we live, demand that the instruction of the youth be a *religious* one; for it is certainly not lawful again to pronounce over the child Solomon's sentence, and unreasonably and cruelly to cut it in two, separating his intellect and his will; for as the former

7 Ke Kumu Kanawai a me na Kanawai o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, 1841. (These are the so-called Blue-Laws, thus called on account of the blue paper of the cover.) pp. 47-52.

8 Letter Dec. 7, 1841, Missionary Herald, 1841, p. 360. The date stands for April 7, 1841, as the letter was written shortly after the departure of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, which sailed from Honolulu on April 5, 1841.

is cultivated, the latter ought to be directed to acquire virtuous habits and man's last end. He who cultivates the mind and neglects the will, thereby turns instruction into a pernicious tool in the hands of the wicked."

It is practically impossible entirely to separate the intellectual evolution of an individual from the formation of his will, and consequently, it were absurd for Christians to think of dissociating the conduct of the present life's actions from their last and supernatural end.

Now, as the Catholic Church has received from Christ the mission to conduct all men who have been regenerated through the waters of baptism to eternal felicity, and to assist them during this mortal life in such a way as may be conducive to the attainment of that end, it follows that it is the Church's office and duty to require schools which answer her purpose.

She consequently refuses her approval to any school which does not offer the following conditions:

1. The *teachers* she wishes to be endowed with orthodoxy of faith, integrity of morals and due science, that their teachings and examples may not only be free from the dangers of error, but also embrace the above double element.

2. The *books* used should not only be exempt from anything opposed to faith and morals, but ought to contain such matters as are positively helpful to a Christian education.

3. As to the *method* employed in teaching it is not sufficient that it be free from all attacks against faith and morals, but moreover, that apart from the time which is set apart for express religious teaching, every opportunity be seized upon to inculcate the knowledge and love of supernatural truth. Here may be mentioned: pious emblems, pictures, statues and other things which are useful in the intuitive method.

3. From the part of the *children,* who are admitted in the schools, there must at least be no danger of perversion, and due caution must be employed in regard to difference of sexes and sects.[9]

These four indispensable conditions were not provided by the common schools created or rather revived by the school law of October 15, 1840.

The teachers were not only not orthodox in the Faith, but as a rule militant Protestants, being, whenever obtainable, pupils of the Lahainaluna high school.

This will become evident from the following quotations. Rev. Mr. Gulick, speaking of his district, (Koloa, Kauai) writes:

"In October last (1840) we succeeded in getting a competent and faithful teacher, a graduate of the seminary at Lahaina."[10] And in the same letter speaking of a somewhat later period: "Two (of the teachers) are respectable graduates from the seminary at Lahaina. One of these is pious and a very useful elder in the church. Two of those not graduates are professors of religion, and one of them also an elder, and I think he exerts an excellent influence. Both of these elders hold religious meetings, which appear to be profitable to those who attend."

Rev. Mr. Hitchcock, a missionary on Molokai, had in his district "a pupil of the high school, who was in charge of the station (at Kalaupapa) and was teacher of the school." That teacher also held meetings on the Sabbath.[11]

It was but natural that the Protestant missionary, having to appoint,

9 Mgr. Julius De Becker, Oral Course of Canon Law.
10 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 283.
11 Missionary Herald, 1841, p. 193.

together with the school committee, teachers for the common schools, should only take those of his own flock; and as none of the members of the committee would have dared to gainsay him, he was evidently the sole one to make the appointments, or to judge how much wages a teacher should be given, or whether he should be punished or removed.

In as far as the character of these Protestant teachers is concerned, it suffices to say that in their General Letter to the A.B.C.F.M. embracing the year 1841, the missionaries declared that *"even* the *best* classes of our church members are *far* from what they should be, and even from what we once hoped they would attain to by this time. We must still complain of a great lack of stability, fixedness of purpose in serving the Lord, *tenderness of conscience,* and in short, of that maturity of Christian character which gives firmness and power to a church."[12]

As for the books employed in the schools, Mr. Armstrong tells us that "The (Protestant) Bible is made prominent in the week-day as well as the Sabbath-schools," and he adds, "It is encouraging to observe how rapidly the children advance in Christian knowledge. Many of them are quite at home in both the historical and doctrinal parts of the Bible. *This is the best safeguard against popery and any other heresy.* As fast as the children learn to read and attend school regularly, a portion of the Scriptures is put into their hands, and the teachers are required to have them read daily in their schools."[13]

Mr. Armstrong further made it a point to furnish every child that could read with a copy of the New Testament, and also endeavored to teach the children the shorter catechism systematically and thoroughly.[14]

Other anti-Popery literature was evidently occasionally put into the hands of the pupils, and certainly both teachers and books of the Hawaiian common schools of that period were calculated to inspire the pupils with hatred of and contempt for Catholics. Thus those schools were filled with an atmosphere wherein no Catholic child could live and develop without inescapable danger to his faith and morals.

They were then not even mere neutral schools, which would have been bad enough from the Catholic standpoint, but decidedly Protestant sectarian schools, to which Catholic parents might not send their children under any pretext.

No wonder then that Mr. Smith apprehended that the Catholics were going to refuse compliance with a law that rendered such schools obligatory for all.

Neither had he underrated the tenderness of the Catholic conscience, where matters of such all-absorbing importance were concerned.

The expected resistance did not long remain in abeyance. The law was to become of universal application on the first of January, 1841. A fortnight later, Father Maigret wrote to the Archbishop of Chalcedoine, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts:

"The Calvinists continue to make every exertion to prevent the progress of the Catholic religion. With this view they have just dictated to the Chiefs of these islands laws tending to place all the authority in the hands of the pupils of the Protestant high school which had been established some years ago at Maui, the permanent residence of the king and the regent. All those who, henceforth, will be charged with teaching, must come from this school, or at least be approved of by those who direct it.

12 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 473.
13 Missionary Herald, 1841, p. 266.
14 Missionary Herald, 1843, p. 259.

"At the time of our arrival these establishments, of which the ministers made such a boast, were scarcely any longer frequented by the natives. Since then they have taken it into their heads to make a decree that all parents should be obliged to send their children to them, under penalty of a fine in case of non-compliance with the rule. The sectarians thought that the Catholic priests, recently landed in these islands, being little accustomed to the language, and having no other elementary books except the catechism of Father Bachelot, would not be able to give lessons to the natives, and that the children of our neophytes would be thus taken from us. In this decree the chiefs speak certainly of missionaries, but not of us, whom they seem to consider as nothing. I, who believe myself to have as much right to instruct and keep a high school as the Protestants, have assembled our Catholic youth, and have named masters in different quarters of the island. The following is the formula of the diploma which I have delivered:—

" 'Greeting to thee, N. In virtue of the treaty of the 13th of July, 1839, and of the law published by the chiefs of these isles, the 15th of October, 1840, I establish thee master of the Catholic school of . . . . .'

"I await the issue of this step; if the chiefs do not oppose it, so much the better; if they raise up difficulties, I shall answer that I believe that, according to the conventions which grant us the same privileges as the Protestants, I have the right to act as I have done. In spite of all these annoyances, the number of our neophytes is continually increasing; we have already in the single island of Oahu more Christians than we count in the Gambier isles."[15]

On a visit to the island of Hawaii towards the middle of February, the Pro-vicar also gave out some diplomas to the teachers of the Catholic schools, which the priests took care to organize whenever they saw a possibility.

The King seemed to approve of the course Father Maigret was taking, for he declared his willingness to grant a piece of land, if a Catholic high school should be established.[16]

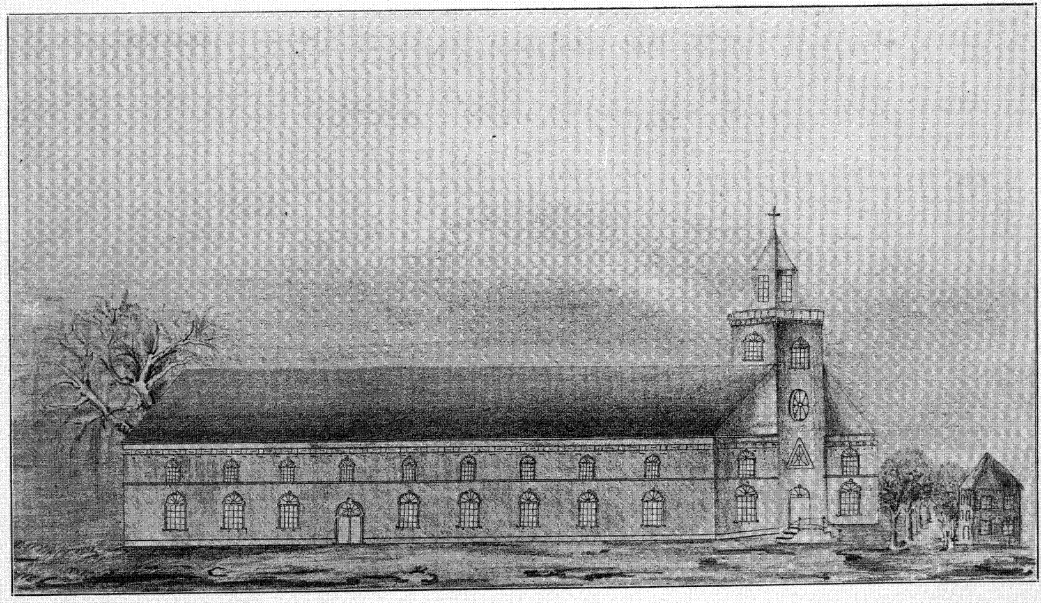
Without waiting for this grant, Father Maigret started a Normal school on the premises of the mission at Honolulu.[17] When we say Normal school, we mean simply a school to turn out teachers, knowing just a little more than they were expected to teach their pupils. For some time the majority of the teachers, either Catholics or Protestants, did not reach even this low standard.[18]

Having now teachers, it was not so very difficult to get schools. The construction of a grass house necessitated neither much work nor large expenses, once there was land to build upon; and that the priests hoped to obtain in the way indicated by the law. Moreover, in a mild and equable climate as is enjoyed in the Hawaiian group, school buildings were then no indispensable necessities for instructing the youth.

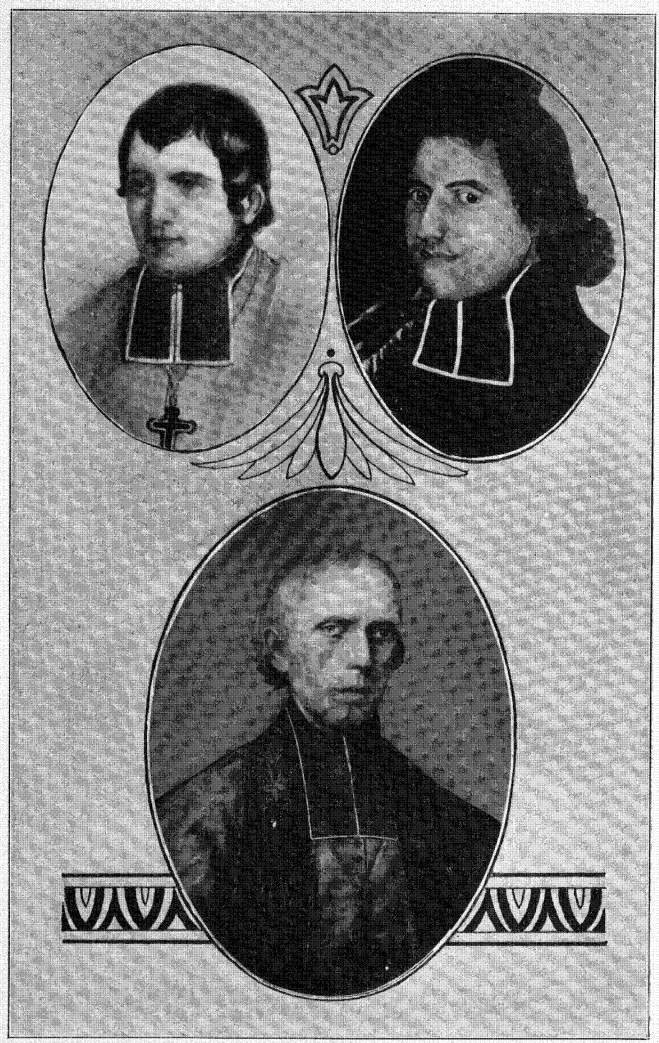
Of greater inconvenience was the lack of books. Till then the priests had only Father Bachelot's catechism to put into the hands of their pupils, and even these only in insufficient quantity. In Kona, Hawaii, for instance, a Catholic school of twenty pupils had only one book in common, which probably passed from hand to hand.[19]

In another letter of April 5, 1841, this missionary acknowledges the reception of 57 pamphlets, which, says he, he is going to distribute to the children

15 Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. III, pp. 278, 279.
16 Letter of Father Desire Maudet, Apr. 19, 1841, in Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 715.
18 Missionary Herald, 1842, pp. 283, 343, 354.—Letters of Father Ernest Heurtel, Aug. 20, 1841, and Aug. 19, 1842.
19 F. Ernest Heurtel's Unpublished Letters, Feb. 14, 1841.



CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY OF PEACE, HONOLULU
Showing to the left the Algaroba Tree planted by Father Bachelot in 1828
The drawing was made in 1843, soon after completion of the Cathedral



RT. REV. STEPHEN ROUCHOUZE, BISHOP OF NILOPOLIS
FATHER ALEXIS BACHELOT
RT. REV. LOUIS MAIGRET, BISHOP OF ARATHIA

who abandon the schools on account of the lack of books. It is not known whereof this pamphlet consisted; it was perhaps the "Alphabet" or Speller, printed in 1840, May 29.

To provide for the urgent need of school books Fathers Maigret and Dositheus busied themselves in the beginning of April, 1841, with composing a French-Hawaiian grammar and a geography; they had then also translated some portions of the Old and New Testament.[20]

That grammar must have been different from the "Langue Havaiienne," a grammar of eight pages, published March, 1860, which, according to Father Maigret's diary, had been written by him between February 16 and March 19 of that same year; and different also from a French-Hawaiian grammar and dictionary, "Notes Grammaticales sur la Langue Sandwichoise," which had been printed at Paris in 1834, and was written by Father Bachelot.[21]

We have a geography printed in 1851. (He Vahi Hoikehonua), but do not know whether an earlier edition existed.

Father Maigret composed also in verse, and in the native tongue, several abridgments of history. One of these was called the "Kenekuria" or the Centuries. The pupils soon knew it all by heart, and sang it at every moment to different airs, which they changed at pleasure. The children of the Calvinist schools having learned some verses from continually hearing them, took pleasure in repeating them in the ears of their teachers, "which," says Father Martial Jean, "was not very pleasing to these sectarians, particularly when they gave out the couplets of Luther and Calvin."[22]

These verses served more as reminders of what had been taught orally, than as instructions by themselves; for they certainly do not contain much information, nor anything which could give much annoyance to the Protestant teachers. There are nineteen stanzas, each of four verses, every stanza purporting to relate the principal events of the period, although the discovery of America has been registered in the sixteenth stanza, perhaps because there was no room for that event in the preceding one.

We give here these verses with their translation, as an illustration of the educational methods then in vogue

1. O ka poe apotolo,
   Nero ke Alii no;
   Simona ka vahahee;
   Luku Jerusaleme.

1. (In this century lived) the Apostles
   Nero was the cruel emperor;
   Simon Magus (also lived then;)
   (And in the same century) Jerusalem was destroyed.

2. Inaki, Tarajano;
   Polikape, Jutino;
   Poe koa make vai,
   Poe motana kekahi.

2. (Then lived) Ignatius and Trajan;
   Polycarpus and Justin;
   The soldiers who were martyred in the water.
   And the Montanist (heretics).

3. Ma Pari Dionisio,
   Ma Lione Ireneo,
   Kipiriano, Agata,
   Perepetua, Susana.

3. At Paris we have now Dionisius,
   And at Lyons St. Ireneus;
   Ciprian, Agatha,
   Perpetua and Susannah (should be mentioned).

4. Helena, Konetatine;
   Pakome, Hilarione;
   Poe Ario, Donate,
   Makedonio, Basile.

4. Helena and Constantine,
   Pacomius and Hilarion;
   The Arians and Donatists,
   The Macedonians, and Basilius.

20 Lettres Lithographiees: F. Barnabe Castan, Apr. 10, 1841.
21 See Preface to said booklet.
22 Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. IV, p. 293.

5. Netorio, Eutike;
Joane Kiritome;
Hieronimo, Paula,
Geremano, Genovepa.

6. Benedito a me Remi;
Huli mai Visigoti;
Huli mai ko Farani;
Huli mai Beretani.

7. Mahometa ma Medina,
Herakilio; ke Kea;
Ka poe Monotelite;
Makimo; Gereturude.

8. Mauri ma Sepania,
Huli ko Alemania;
Ka poe vavahi kii;
Huli mai Bulugari.

9. Ka Halekipa ma Pari
Ko Suede huli mai;
Ko Danemareke hoi;
Ko Noremania hoi.

10. Malu ka Ekalesia;
Heva nae na kanaka;
Huli nae Polonia;
Huli hoi ko Rusia.

11. Loaa no hua mele;
Kaavale ko Helene;
Ma Farani he vi loa;
Ka malu o ke Akua.

12. He mau kaua eha;
Me ka poe Mahometa;
He poe monako koa,
Berenarado me Toma.

13. He mau kaua eha
Me ka poe Mahometa,
Dominiko, Farakiko.
Ka poe Augutino.

14. Kanahiku makahiki,
Noho Pope ma Farani;
Papalua komohana,
Beregite, Katarina.

15. Na Husita vahahee,
Kanalua o Helene,
Pio Kotatinopoli,
Pio loa na Mauri.

16. Lutera me Kalavina,
Aoia Amerika,
Kaavale Beritani,
Malu ole ko Farani.

17. Mahuahua ka poe,
Akamai me ka ike;
Vinikenete Saneta,
Lui umikumamaha.

18. Mahuahua ka poe
Kaalele i ka pule;
Kipikipi ko Farani,
Make Lui i ka pahi.

5. Nestorius and Eutiches;
John Chrysostom;
Jerome and Paula;
Germain and Genoveva.

6. Benedict and Remigius;
Conversion of the Visigoths;
Conversion of the Franks;
Conversion of the Britons.

7. Mohammed enters Medina;
Heraclius and the Cross;
The Monothelitists.
Maximus and Gertrude.

8. Spain conquered by the Moors;
Conversion of Germany.
The iconoclasts.
Conversion of the Bulgarians.

9. The Hotel Dieu at Paris.
Conversion of Sweden;
Conversion of the Danes;
Conversion of the Normans.

10. The Church is enjoying peace;
The people became sinful;
Conversion of Poland;
Conversion of Russia.

11. Invention of musical annotation;
Rupture with the Greeks;
Great famine in France;
The Truce of God.

12. Four wars
Against the Mohammedans;
The military Orders;
Bernard and Thomas.

13. Four other wars
Against the Mohammedans;
Dominic and Francis;
The Augustinian Order.

14. The Pope remains in France
For some seventy years;
The schism of the West;
Bridget and Catharine.

15. The heretical Hussites;
The Greeks are in doubt.
Capture of Constantinople;
The final defeat of the Moors.

16. Luther and Calvin;
Discovery of America;
Rupture with England.
No peace in France.

17. Increase of people
Of learning and art;
Saint Vincent;
Lewis the Fourteenth.

18. There is an increase
Of impious people;
The French Revolution;
Lewis dies on the guillotine.

19. Bonapate lanakila,
Pio ia ma Rusia;
Kipi Amerika Kona,
Kipikipi Sepania.

19. Bonaparte is victorious;
He is defeated in Russia;
Rebellion in South America;
Revolution in Spain.[23]

Whether these different compositions were printed in 1841 or simply multiplied by writing and distributed to the pupils, I have been unable to ascertain. The Catholic Mission press was not installed before November, 1841, but the printing may have been done at Howard's establishment.

It does not appear probable that, having this accommodation at hand, Father Maigret should have had recourse to the weary and unsatisfactory process of copying hundreds of booklets by hand.

The Protestant schools, which, before the school law, were little more than a name,[24] or as a missionary writer puts it, "were in a feeble state,"[25] revived during the latter half of the year 1840.

This change in the educational situation is well painted in a letter of the Rev. Mr. Ives, missionary at Kealakekua, in which he suggests at the same time the connection which existed between the Missionary Committee on Education and the school laws of 1840.

"Last July our schools were barely in existence. The chiefs had compelled all our teachers, except three from the mission seminary, to work for them one-fourth of the time. There was not a boy also in the field that was supposed to be over fourteen that was exempt from this heavy burden. The parents were forbidden by the tax-officer from giving to the teachers, either by monthly concert or otherwise. Under all this discouragement the schools could with difficulty be kept in existence. The new school laws, which came into force last January, were as life from the dead. We have had to contest the matter inch by inch with the underchiefs, but by enforcing from the pulpit the duty of submission to the higher authorities, and by enlightening the teachers and people into their rights, we have been enabled to make the new laws bring out among us some glorious results. The fields which, nine months ago, brought forward to the examinations only 246 children, now produces 829."[26]

However, as a consequence of the position taken by the Catholic priests, this progress of the Calvinist schools received a sudden check.

Says Rev. Mr. Lyons: "Two schools in my field (Waimea, Hawaii) are altogether broken up through the efforts of the Papists. The children have been drawn into their net, and they were at work in several other school districts, striving to produce the same havoc."[27]

"The Papists have been making strenuous efforts to break up the schools, and in one or two instances they have succeeded. One school of about 80 pupils has been entirely broken up for the present." This was on the same island in the district of Kau, and Rev. Mr. Paris is the one to give us this bit of information.[28]

That on the other islands the Catholic resistance against the anti-Catholic schools was equally successful appears from a General Letter to the A. B. C. F. M.

"During the last year, in some of the districts, children have been drawn away from school by the influence of the popish priests. What number of children may

23 From Mele Evanelio, Honolulu, 1880, pp. 60-62.
24 Wilkes, Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, II, p. 173.
25 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 157.
26 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 152.
27 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 243.—Letter of Sept. 13, 1841.
28 Missionary Herald, 1843, p. 174.—Letter of Jan. 20, 1842.

have gone to them we have no means of ascertaining accurately. At an examination of their schools on the island of Oahu, some months since, they numbered 700 children. Not all these have been scholars in our schools, though many of them probably had.

On the island of Kauai the brethren report one or two schools, where, by promises and presents from the Roman Catholic priests, the children, with three or four exceptions, have been induced to go to the papists.

Under such circumstances we greatly feel the need of more and better qualified teachers in our common schools. The papists are pressing us hard on every side, and are unwearied in their efforts to draw children and youth away after them."[29]

From the preceding quotations it becomes evident that, thanks to Father Maigret's bold and resolute action, the law worked quite differently from what its framers had intended.

On account of the continual friction occasioned by this school law, it was amended by the Chiefs in their assembly at Lahaina, on May 21, 1841. The new law was to become obligatory for any place on the day it was there promulgated, and universally throughout the group on September 1st of that same year.

"The "missionary" was entirely eliminated from its stipulations, and the school agent put into his place.

The clause of art. 6, respecting the granting of teacher's certificates was made to read:

"No person is by this law considered a teacher, unless he have a teacher's certificate from the general school agent." The faculty of granting such certificates was thus taken away from the principal of the Lahainaluna Seminary, but at the same time Father Maigret's pretensions to this privilege were denied.

In article 15, the clause exempting the scholars of Lahainaluna from the money tax was retained, without granting the same boon to the pupils of the Catholic normal school.

Two new articles were added, the latter of which determined the qualifications required from those who applied for a teacher's certificate. It read:

"18. Furthermore, it shall not be proper for the general school agent to give the teacher's certificate to ignorant persons, nor to persons known to be vicious or immoral. If a man can read, write and understands geography and arithmetic, and is a quiet and moral man, and desires a teacher's certificate, it shall be the duty of the school agent to give him one, and not refuse."

Under this law it became possible for Catholics to have schools and teachers of their own, with the means to support them. The only clause to which the Catholics might object as not wholly granting them the perfect equality of the two cults before the law, guaranteed by the French treaty, was that the pupils of the Honolulu Catholic high school were not given the same exemption from the money tax as the Lahainaluna scholars. This, however, appears a matter of but little importance.

However, if the purely legislative part of the law may be considered as fair and wise, the punitive sanction which is contained in art. 9 appears not only out of proportion to the offense, but a flagrant violation of the natural rights of man, and consequently highly unjust and tyrannical. It states:

". . . . If any man have a child of a suitable age to go to school, but below eight years of age, and do not constantly send him to school, then that parent shall not be freed from the public labor of the king and the land agent on the labor days, whatever may be the number of his children."

29 Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 476.

This part of the punishment is in no way objectionable. But the article continues:

"Nor shall he be permitted to cut on the mountains such kind of timber as the king gives to the people. All those kinds of timber are taboo to the parents who send not their children to school. Nor shall those parents fish on those fishing grounds which the king gives to the people. Those parents have a preference for darkness, therefore, let the taboos of these times of darkness apply to them.

"But if a child be over eight years of age, and do not go to school, then the fault shall not be considered as the parent's only, but the child's also. That child shall go to the public labor of the king and land agents on all labor days. . . . ."

These taboos on the mountain and on the sea, condemned the family against whom they were pronounced practically to starvation, as they made the necessities of life inaccessible.

Nor does the clause in art. 16 seem to be either wise or just, which forbids any man who is unable to read and write to marry a wife, nor a woman who is unable to read and write to marry a husband; for even granting that the civil authorities have a right to establish diriment impediments of marriage for their non-baptized subjects, which right is certainly to be denied them respecting Christians,[30] it does not appear that the knowledge of reading and writing in the subjects is of such paramount benefit to the State, that subjects unwilling to acquire such knowledge, might be rightfully punished by depriving them of a primordial right of nature.

The impediment applied only to those who were born since the beginning of Liholiho's reign, and if a person's inability to read and write was not the consequence of laziness, but of some other legitimate cause, then it was the duty of the Governor to grant a marriage license.[31]

If all the parts of the Hawaiian machinery politic had been in nice working order, this school law might have given satisfaction to the Catholic missionaries. But outside of Honolulu, the petty chiefs in the districts, and sometimes even the governors of the islands, did not entirely realize the change from their erstwhile more arbitrary powers to those described and limited by the Constitution and the newly framed laws. Hence, they did not always watch over the execution of the new school law with fairness.

The priests from their side ascribed whatever freedom they and their Christians enjoyed to the power of France, and expected in the future too to receive no favors nor justice from the Hawaiian rulers except through the intervention of that same power. Hence they communicated to Mr. Dudoit, the French consul, whatever annoyances they experienced in the fulfilment of their ministry. They even fostered perhaps a secret hope that France might annex the Islands, whereby the Catholic religion would have supplanted Calvinism in Hawaii as the official religion of the State. We may here thank a wise and kind Providence for having safeguarded these beautiful isles from annexation by France, which would have ruined them both commercially and religiously.

On the 22nd of August, 1842, the French sloop of war "Embuscade" arrived, in command of Captain Mallet,[32] and at her very arrival caused some uneasiness by not firing the usual salutes. The captain called on Governor Kekuanaoa, and informed him that the French government had taken possession of the Marquesas Islands in July, and that there were complaints of violations of the convention of 1839, which he had been sent to investigate.

30 Cf. De Becker, De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio, 1896, pp. 41-43.
31 Art. 17 of the same law.
32 Maigret, Journal, Aug. 22, 1842.—Jarves, History, p. 336.—Wyllie says Aug. 24, Historical Summary, p. 307.

On August 31st, the commander and his staff assisted at an examination of one thousand Catholic school children.

The following day he sent to the King, who had arrived at Honolulu during the night of the 30th, a letter of which the following is a translation:

Sloop of War Embuscade,
Harbor of Honolulu, Sept. 1, 1842.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform your Majesty that since the Treaties of July 12th and 17th, 1839, French citizens and ministers of the Catholic religion have been insulted and subjected to divers unjust measures, concerning which your Majesty has not probably been informed. Subordinate agents, ignorant or ill disposed, and without any special order from government, have thrown down churches, threatened the priests, and compelled their disciples to attend Protestant places of worship and Protestant schools. To effect this they have employed a course of treatment repulsive to humanity, notwithstanding the Treaty of July 12th, signed by your Majesty and the commandant of the French frigate Artemise, grants free exercise to the Catholic religion, and an equal protection to its ministers.

Persuaded that your Majesty has no intention that Treaties entered into with sincerity and good faith should be annulled, and also that it is incumbent on you to treat all religions with favor; therefore I shall demand that you will adopt such measures as shall defend the adherents of the Catholic faith from all future vexations.

I demand then of your Majesty.

1. That a Catholic high-school, with the same privileges as the high-school at Lahainaluna, be immediately acknowledged, and that a lot of land be granted to it by government according to promise.

2. That the Catholic schools be under exclusive supervision of Catholic *kahukulas* (inspectors), nominated by *kahunas* (priests) of the same faith, and approved by your Majesty; and that the *kahukulas* enjoy without infraction all the privileges granted by law.

3. That the *kahunas* have power to fill temporarily all vacancies that may occur in consequence of the death, absence, or loss of office of any of the *kahukulas*.

4. That, for the future, permission to marry be given by Catholics nominated by the *kahunas* and approved always by the government of your Majesty; and that in case of absence, death, or loss of office, the *kahunas* have power to grant provisionally permission themselves.

5. That hereafter Catholics be not forced to labor upon schools of a different faith, and that the relations of children who may embrace the Catholic religion be not ill treated on this account.

6. That severe punishment be inflicted upon every individual, whatever may be his rank, or condition, who shall destroy a Catholic church, or school, or insult the ministers of this religion.

Furthermore I demand of your Majesty, that you will confirm to the French mission the land which was given to it by Boki, when regent of the kingdom, which land has always been considered as belonging to said mission; and also that you legalize the purchase of land made by his Lordship, the Bishop of Nicopolis, by a sanction which will confirm it to his Lordship and to his heirs forever.

I will not conclude what relates to the Catholic clergy without praying your Majesty to give me proof that the Abbe Maigret has signed a writing, by which he acknowledges himself a British subject. Should this prove a mere calumny, invented for the purpose of ruining a French priest in the estimation of the people of these isles and that of your Majesty, I demand that the author of this calumny, John Ii, the Inspector General, retract in writing, declaring either that he lied about it, or that he was deceived. As a Frenchman, I deem it important to be fully satisfied upon this point."[33]

The rest of the document has to do with the duties on French wines and spirits.

In these demands more seems to be asked for the Catholic priests than they were entitled to, even on the strength of the treaty, which guaranteed equal privileges for the members of the two religions: "The members of this communion

33 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 307.

shall enjoy all the privileges granted to Protestants." Four days later, the Hawaiian Government sent the following courteous but spirited reply:

Honolulu, Oahu, Sept. 4, 1842.

To S. Mallet, Captain of the French sloop of War, Embuscade.

Greeting:

We have received your letter dated the 1st instant, and with our council assembled, have deliberated thereon, and we are happy to receive your testimony that, if there are instances of difficulty or abuse in these islands, they are not authorized by this government, and we assure you that we hold in high estimation the government of France and all its estimable subjects. It is the firm determination of our government to observe the Treaties with all nations; but the written laws are a new thing; the people are ignorant, and good order can only be preserved on the part of the government by affording the protection of the laws to all who will appeal to them at the proper tribunals.

On the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion it was understood that toleration was to be fully allowed to all its priests and all its disciples, and this has been done as far as lay in our power, and no one can prove the contrary. But it is impossible to put a stop to disputes and contentions between rival religions, and the evils and complaints which result from them.

The laws favor literature, and as soon as the French priests are ready to found a high school for the purpose of imparting it to their pupils, and teachers are ready, it shall find a location.

The school laws were formed to promote education in these islands and not sectarianism; and no one should ask the government that they be altered to favor any particular sect. Any man qualified for teaching, being of good moral character, is entitled to a teacher's diploma; this by reason of his acquirements, not his sect. No priest of either sect can give diplomas. Likewise marriage is regulated by law, and no priest of either sect can perform the ceremony, except the parties obtain a certificate from the governor, or his officer; and why should the laws be altered? Difficulties often arose on the subject, and we should regulate our own people.

The laws require the people to labor on certain days; some for the government and some for the landlords to whom the labor is due according to law; and the kind of labor is regulated by those to whom the labor is due.

The laws are not fully established in all parts of the islands, and probably an ancient custom has been practised by which the owner of land would pull down the house of one who built thereon without his cheerful consent; but if the owner of the house complains to the judges, they should grant a trial; and if no satisfaction is obtained, then the governor will grant a trial; and if that decision is unjust, an appeal must be made to the supreme judges, who will sit twice a year.

The ground occupied by the French priests in Honolulu is held by the same tenure as that of the priests of the Protestant religion, and some other foreigners; and negotiations have been commenced, which it is to be hoped will give equal justice to all.

When John Ii arrives from Kauai, that case will be adjusted, and if he denies the charge which you have presented, a trial will be granted. . . . . Please inform him (Admiral Du Petit Thouars, commander of the French forces in the Pacific) also, that we have sent ministers to the king of France to beg of him a new Treaty between us and France.

Accept for yourself the assurance of our respect and our salutation.

KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI.[34]

This communication was sent on the ensuing morning, and shortly after Mr. Dudoit called on the rulers to request an interview with the King. Meantime Father Maigret had been requested to translate the document from the Hawaiian language into French. When the priest came in bringing the translation of the letter, the Captain read it, and on perceiving that Ministers had been sent to Europe, he bowed politely, and said that his time was short, and he could

34 Wyllie's Historical Summary, pp. 308, 309.

not enter upon business as he wished, but would leave everything to be settled by the Consul.[35] The Embuscade left on the 8th of September.

It appears that the efforts of Captain Mallet were not entirely ineffectual, for a fortnight later, Father Maigret wrote to the Superior-General of his Congregation:

"For the moment our expectations grow more intense; it would appear that the demands of Captain Mallet have been effective. The Government is going to give us a lot whereupon to establish a high school. Moreover, since the departure of the French frigate we have presented ten of our pupils for examination as teachers, and they have passed all of them. Finally, I just now received a letter from Kauai, which informs me that things have changed for the better; our pupils are not annoyed any more and the inspectors have visited the Catholic schools, and have expressed their satisfaction."[36]

The very same week, however, a sad incident happened on Molokai, which damped the high spirits of which the Pro-Vicar gives proof in this letter. The catechist of that island, a native by the name of Dionysius, had been arrested for refusing to help work at the construction of a Protestant church. Two policemen, whilst tying his hands and feet together in order to carry him on their shoulders suspended from a pole, broke his spine. After having carried him for about three-quarters of a mile, the awful state to which they had reduced him dawned upon them. They loosened his ties, and brought him home, where he vomited blood abundantly.[37]

Soon, as the Catholics persisted in their interpretation of the treaty, the friction became again general.

"At the end of 1842," writes F. Desvault, "the scholars of Mr. Maigret were put in irons, because they demanded the execution of the agreement entered into; they wished to enjoy the privileges of the pupils of Lahainaluna, and to be exempt from paying taxes; and to release themselves from prison, they had to pay double tax. It continues to be impossible for us to obtain a single diploma. Several times we have presented candidates, who, in the judgment of the governor, of the king himself, and of all the strangers who had assisted at the examination, were very well instructed: the inspector continually refuses them."[38]

The provisional cession of the islands to England on February 25th, 1843 (they were again restored to their rightful sovereign on the 31st of July, 1844) did not improve the situation; the Catholics continued to experience several annoyances on the different islands on which the mission had been implanted by this time, and of which we shall have an occasion to speak more in detail in the next chapter.

However, towards the end of 1843, the King made a trip around the islands. He improved the occasion to tell his subjects that he himself belonged to the Protestant religion and was sorry to see many of them embracing another faith. At the same time, however, he issued a proclamation wherein he declares it to be his will that all his subjects dwell together in harmony: Protestantism is indeed the religion of the State, but all other Christian denominations are to be tolerated; all that smacks of persecution is against his will; when his ambassadors return from Europe, some changes will perhaps be made in the laws on schools and marriages, but in the meantime the existing laws will have to be kept.[39]

35 Wyllie's Historical Summary, p. 312.
36 Letter of Sept. 22, 1842; in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I.
37 Journal Bro. Calixte, Sept. 29, 1842; Letter Maigret, Dec. 5, 1842, in Lettres Lithographiees, Vol. I.
38 Letter of Dec. 29, 1843.
39 Letter of F. Maigret, Dec. 16, 1843, in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I.

This action of the King was effective, as may be seen from a later letter of Father Maigret wherein he says:

"We are not annoyed for the moment. We have about a hundred schools; and on Oahu and Kauai, nearly all our teachers have their diplomas. On the Big Island it is not exactly the same, but I hope that the difficulties will be smoothed down."[40]

No lot had as yet been granted to the Catholic Mission for its so-called High School; this institution, however, was about that time in a flourishing condition, as we may infer from an article by Robert C. Wyllie, in the Protestant Honolulu newspaper, "The Friend" of Aug. 1st, 1844, an article moreover commendable for its evident spirit of fairness and tolerance.[41]

"Rev. Abbé Maigret's School. This school is kept in several humble apartments adjoining the Catholic church to which I have already referred, and close to the abode of the Reverend Abbé himself. It consists of about three hundred scholars of both sexes, who are matriculated as belonging to it, but they do not all attend every day.

"There are six native teachers and as many divisions of the school. The abbé superintends the whole six divisions. The female children are kept by themselves under native teachers of their own sex, and so it is with the male children; both being divided into classes according to their age, and the progress they may have made.

"The Government of late has made a small allowance for the support of the native teachers. Their pay, I understand, varies from three to eighteen cents per day, according to the qualifications of each. The Abbé himself is wholly supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Catholic Faith, or that of Picpus, to which he more immediately belongs. All the services, whether in the school, before the altar, in administering the Sacraments of his church, or performing the rites of marriage or interment, are rendered without any charge to those who belong to his communion.

"The course of education pursued embraces the elementary part of education, with geography and history. The holy scriptures, according to our Protestant translation are prohibited, but not so the translation authorized by the Church of Rome. . .

"Religious instruction forms an important part of the course of education pursued by the Rev. Abbé Maigret. He told me that the four Gospels had been translated into the native language, and will be put into the hands of his pupils as soon as they can be printed. The rest of the scriptures are to follow, whenever they can be translated and printed.

"If I understand him rightly, there are in all nine Catholic priests on the islands, and the baptized members of their communion amount in all to 12,500, besides those who are under preparatory training. In the whole islands they have about 100 schools with upwards of 3,000 scholars. The education is in the native language, except in one branch where it is given in French. The Abbé himself gives lessons in that language in the village to those who attend for that purpose at his residence, although they may not be of his faith. . . . . ."

On November 10th, of 1845, the King finally fulfilled a promise often reiterated, by granting to the Catholic Mission a portion of land "for the purpose of teaching scholars the use of letters, such as reading, arithmetic, writing, geography, and such like studies tending to mental improvement." It was stipulated in the grant that "when the scholars should be well versed in the above they should be taught some foreign language, calculated to improve their minds, such as the Latin or French languages, together with ancient and modern history according as the scholars shall be fitted to proceed."

The document further stated that "this place shall become a site, with all its privileges for a seminary before mentioned, according to the law of the Hawaiian Islands and on the terms above stated."[42]

40 Letter of Aug. 7th, 1844, in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I.

41 Notes on the Shipping, Trade, Agriculture, Climate, Diseases, Religious Institutions . . . . of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands.

42 Land Claim, No. 43.

This land, called "Ahuimanu," is situated in Heeia, district of Koolau, on the island of Oahu. Its entire area was 216 1/2 acres of which 126 acres were inaccessible bluffs. The remaining 90 acres are made up of relatively flat and very fertile land. Improvements on the land were started on the 4th of December following the grant,[43] and school seems to have begun not long afterward. Father Dositheus Desvault was the first director of the establishment.

About this time the Hawaiian King began to entrust the government of his realm to white men, whom he selected either from among the Protestant missionaries, or from the somewhat adventurous but able laymen who occasionally were thrown upon his shores by the wander-spirit, and whose education fitted them better than his own subjects to cope with the many difficulties caused by the rapid evolution of the country and its increasing relations with foreign nations.

One of these white men, John Ricord, framed an Act to organize the executive departments, which was passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives, and approved by the King on the 27th of April, 1846. By this Law five executive departments were created; to wit: Interior Affairs, Foreign Relations, Finance, Public Instruction, and Law.

The Protestant religion is declared to be the religion of the government, not so, as to connect the ecclesiastical body with the body politic. All men in the kingdom are allowed freely to worship the God of the Christian Bible according to the dictates of their own conscience. The minister of Public Instruction shall not officially interfere with the feelings and conscience of either parents or children, nor make any exception or show any official partiality towards one denomination of Christians to the prejudice of another in the conferring of offices or teachers' licenses.[44] The islands were divided for the purposes of education into 21 districts; at the head of each was to be a superintendent having the power to appoint sub-agents. It was provided that in these appointments the wishes, opinions and conveniences of a major part of the interested parents were to be consulted.[45]

The school superintendents, together with the sub-agents, were empowered to erect and repair school houses, to contract with and to employ teachers, and to require to this end of the tax collectors and the overseers of the labor tax any amount of labor, or in lieu thereof the commutation therefore in money or property.[46]

The same superintendents had power to allot land not otherwise appropriated to the teachers and schools of their district, for the teachers' private use, occupancy and usufruct (ibid.) whilst the labor tax was to be used especially for the support of the established schools and to the maintenance and support of the licensed teachers.[47]

Private schools were to be lawful and the pupils visiting them were considered to comply with the requisites of the law, and to be equally exempt from taxes and impressment as if such pupils were sent to the government schools.

The teachers of those private schools, if persons of moral standing, were not obliged to have a teacher's certificate. Moreover, all select schools, seminaries of learning, or any other literary institution might obtain from His Majesty in private council charters of definite incorporation, and could thereby obtain some government endowment in money or other resources.[48]

43 Letters of F. D. Desvault, March 26, 1846; and J. B. Hebert, April 18, 1846, in Lettres Lithographiees.
44 Second Act of Kamehameha III, part IV, sect. 5 and 7.
45 Ibidem, ch. III, sect. 1 and 2.
46 Ibidem, Ch. III, sect. 6.
47 Ibidem, sect. 9.
48 Ibidem, Ch. III, sect. XII, XVIII; Ch. IV, sect. I.

The labor tax of which mention is made in this law, consisted in the performance of manual labor for government purposes. The year was divided for that purpose into thirteen lunar months. On Tuesdays, Wednesday and Fridays of the first week in each lunar month, all tenants under landlords were to labor each for his own particular lord, and all persons not occupying land, and not especially exempted by statute were to labor for government. (Teachers, ministers of religion and parents having at least three children were exempted from the labor tax.) In the second week the tenants were to labor for their landlords on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and all from whom public labor was due, on Fridays for the Government.[49]

By the same law the Minister of Public Instruction was empowered to set apart a suitable site and adequate parsonage grounds for the erection of parish churches, and other land for the use and support of the clergyman,—the church and parsonage erected by the voluntary contributions of the faithful to be considered nominally as government property,—whenever "any adult male persons, not less in number than 50 individuals, living in the same vicinity, and adopting similar doctrines and tenets of religious belief, and like form of Christian worship," petitioned for permission to erect a church and for a grant of land.[50]

The marriage laws were also amended, and the formerly required literary proof was done away with. All ministers of the different Christian denominations were allowed to perform the marriage rite, on presentation by the parties of a license obtained from the governor or his substitute.[51]

In his correspondence with the French commissioner, Mr. Perrin,[52] Mr. Wyllie reports that "by a circular of the late lamented Mr. Richards (the first Minister of Public Instruction) of the 25th of September, 1846, the school inspectors were instructed to consult equally with Catholic and Protestant missionaries, respecting the appointment of Trustees for each school, and to appoint either a Catholic or a Protestant for Trustees, according as the scholars were Catholics or Protestants." And further: "In the appointment of Teachers, should he be a Catholic Teacher, then converse with the Catholic missionary, and the Trustee of that place; and if he is a skillful teacher and the scholars are numerous, let his wages be increased; and if his skill be small, and his scholars few, let his wages be reduced. . . . . If the scholars are Protestants, then converse with the Protestant missionary."

There is some difficulty in this quotation, as school trustees were first created by the law of July 11, 1851, four years after the death of Mr. Richards, who died Nov. 7, 1847.

However, this new school law and the circular of the Minister (the same Mr. Richards who was a member of the Protestant mission and later became secretary to the King) show the determination of the Hawaiian government to give a square deal to their Catholic subjects. All the grievances of the Catholics were done away with. According to returns laid before the Legislature in April, 1848, Catholic schools were actually somewhat privileged over the Protestant ones, as it was found that each scholar of the Catholic schools had received of the Government funds on an average, annually $0.94, and each scholar in the Protestant schools only $0.91.[53]

Withal a good deal of friction continued to exist, partly perhaps because the

49 Ibidem, Ch. III, part of Act, ch. II, sect. I and II.
50 Ch. V, sect. I and II.
51 First Act of Kamehameha, ch. IV, art. I, sect. I and II.
52 Appendix to Mr. Wyllie's Report to the Hawaiian Legislature, session 1851, p. 103 ff.
53 Ibidem, p. 103.

school inspectors and others did not adhere to their instructions,[54] and partly because the French consul, Mr. Dillon, did all he could to inspire the priests with a feeling of distrust toward the Hawaiian government, probably with a view to create difficulties which might provoke French intervention, and possibly annexation.[55]

The members of the Catholic Mission were of the opinion that they would have no peace until Catholic school inspectors were appointed for the Catholic schools. Mr. Wyllie was inclined to grant them their wish, and in a letter to Mr. Judd, Minister of Finance, dated May 12th, 1846, suggested that the Legislature should consider in their wisdom, whether it would conduce to that charity and concord which ought to prevail among all denominations of professing Christians, to allow the Catholic school masters to have their own Inspectors, the same as the Protestant teachers.[56]

A resolution that in every district two separate committees be chosen from among the school trustees of each denomination to solve the difficulties which might arise between Catholics and Protestants, was proposed by Mr. Armstrong and approved by the Privy Council, but not carried into effect owing to the alarm of the government, created by Mr. Dillon's seeking to make religion and education matters of diplomatic interference.[57]

However, on June 12, 1848, a law was passed authorizing the Minister of Public Instruction to appoint "other school superintendents different from the ones mentioned" in the Act organizing the Executive Departments. This was evidently done to enable the Minister to appoint Catholic superintendents for the Catholic schools. He seems not to have thought it expedient to use the authority bestowed upon him by law.

In April, 1849, Mr. Dillon wrote to the French admiral for a naval force to support the demands which vainly he urged upon the Hawaiian government in favor of French subjects and French commercial interests. On the 12th of August, 1849, Admiral De Tromelin arrived in the frigate "Poursuivante," and was joined next day by the steam corvette "Gassendi." Ten days later he sent the King a dispatch containing ten demands drawn up by Mr. Dillon, three of which related to the Catholic Mission, but none of which seems to warrant armed interference.

3. **The subjection of Catholic schools to the direction of the chief of the French mission, and to special inspectors not Protestants, and a treatment rigorously equal granted to the two worships and to their schools.**

8. **The punishment of certain school-boys, whose impious conduct had occasioned complaint.**

9. **The removal of the Governor of Hawaii for allowing the domicile of a priest to be violated or the order that the Governor make reparation to that missionary.**

The day previous to the delivery of these ten demands which the Admiral himself styled an "Ultimatum," he had been refused an audience with the King. This refusal greatly hurt the feelings of the gallant commander, and when on the 25th the King sent in a negative reply to the Ten Demands, he sent his troops ashore. They took and dismantled the fort, spiked and broke the guns, poured the powder into the sea, and behaved very disgracefully, whilst the fact that they

54 On Dec. 1st, 1848, Mr. Armstrong, the successor in office of Mr. Richards, wrote to Mr. Wyllie: "The instructions contained in these circulars, have not been perfectly adhered to by the inspectors and others, in all respects, it is true; and this can be no matter of surprise to any one acquainted with Hawaiians; but where they have been departed from, the parties aggrieved have always the right to appeal, which is very simple and costs nothing." Appendix to Wyllie's Report, 1851, p. 106.

55 Ibidem, pp. 112, 113.

56 Ibid. pp. 104, 105.

57 Ibid. p. 105.

met with no resistance, and the demands were of a rather petty nature, made the whole expedition an extremely ludicrous affair, perfectly unworthy of an admiral of "la Grande Nation."

The 5th of September the two men-of-war left, with the impossible Mr. Dillon on board and with their admiral probably much lessened in his own esteem.

I have found no traces in any documents perused by me that the Catholic missionaries "greatly abetted Mr. Dillon in the concoction of his charges against the government of unfair dealings towards France;" as they are accused of by Manley Hopkins, Hawaii, p. 315. They certainly wished the Catholic schools to be inspected by Catholic inspectors, nor does this desire appear unreasonable, as without it the schools might easily fall away from the Catholic standard. As for the affair of the school boys who had created a disturbance in the religious services held by Father Michael Coulon, and had been dismissed by the native judge for want of proof, this Father hardly seems responsible for the insertion of this trifling affair in the famous ultimatum, for Mr. Wyllie says in regard to this case:

"All that Mr. Dillon asked for, on the 16th of April, 1849, with reference to the complaint of the Abbé Coulon, was to be informed what measures would be taken to prevent such acts as he had complained of. That was all the Rev. Abbé, who with a moderation worthy of his clerical character had declined appearing before the native Judge, had required him to do."[58]

It was doubtless a mistake of the French priests to bring their difficulties before their consul, rather than before the Courts of the country which were open to them.

The successor of Mr. Dillon, Commissioner Perrin, again presented the identical demands of his predecessor, on the 1st of February, 1851. The 3rd demand was modified in the following way:

A treatment rigorously equal, granted to the two worships, Catholic and Protestant. The direction of instruction confided to two Superior Committees formed in each of the two religions.

The submission of the Catholic Schools to Catholic Inspectors. The proportional division between the two religions of the Tax raised by the Hawaiian Government for the support of Schools.

The government answered that this third demand would be taken by them in the light of friendly suggestions for the consideration of the Legislature, so far as the perfect equality of Catholics and Protestants . . . might leave anything to be provided for.[59]

As a consequence we find in the Session Laws of 1851, "an Act to provide for the more efficient management of the Public Schools."

"Whereas, it is the right of parents, as far as possible, to have a voice in the management of schools, wherein their own children are educated: and whereas the exercise of this right will be likely, not only to prevent arbitrary dictation on the part of school inspectors, but increase the interest that all parents should feel in the public schools:

"Therefore be it enacted . . . that it shall be lawful for all the fathers and guardians of the children connected with any public school in this kingdom, to meet on the last Monday in December of each year, and elect by ballot, a plurality deciding, from their own number, a local committee of two trustees . . . whose duties and privileges shall be the same as those of the school-subagents, or luna-kulas heretofore; and in addition to co-operate with the school inspector of the district in carrying into effect the school-laws, and whose sanction shall be necessary to the validity of a

58 Appendix, etc. p. 189.
59 Annual Reports to Hawaiian Legislature, 1851, pp. 187, 188.

teacher's license, to his dismissal from office for any cause, and to the agreement of his wages."[60]

We have treated the History of the School Question with much detail, as it shows how the Hawaiian Government has solved this important actual question.

Whatever defects remained in the system, it recognized the right Catholics have to a fair and just proportion of the funds appropriated for the common schools, as long as with it they do the same thing that is done in the common schools. For if in denominational schools the secular branches are taught to the satisfaction of the State authorities, the schools should be compensated for doing that portion of the task which the State has assumed.

By making this claim, Catholics do not ask for any favors or special privileges; they do not ask that the State, neutral in religious matters, should spend its revenues for the teaching of religion, but they claim their constitutional rights as citizens, to have a proportionate share in the privileges which the State bestows, there where they bear a proportionate share in the paying of taxes and faithfully fulfil their civic duties.

60 Approved by the King, July 11th, 1851, Laws, 1851, p. 57.

CHAPTER XV.

Branching Out

Foundation of the Mission on Kauai.—Koloa.—Moloaa.—Opposition.—First Baptisms.—Mission Established on Niihau.—The Mighty Apela.—Schools.—Rowdyism.—The Mission on Maui.—Passing Visits.—The Catechist Kanui.—The Catechist Helio.—David Malo's Missionary Methods.—Ludicrous Incidents.—Father Desvault's Visit.—The Demonstration "Paakaula."—Work on the King's Plantation.—A Case of Telepathy.—Kamakau's Raid.—Arrival of Priests.—Growth of the Mission on Hawaii.—New Post at Waimea.—Puna and Hilo.—Division of the Island into Missionary Districts.—Kau, an Unfallowed Field.—Calvinism or Starvation.—Both Rejected as Unpalatable.—Reverses.—Praise from the Enemy.—Father Charles at Hilo: A Dreadful Foe.—The Secret of Success.

The arrival on the 9th of October, 1841, of Fathers Stanislas Lebret and Joachim Marchal, made it possible to reenforce the personnel of the Mission on the Big Island, and at the same time to recall Father Walsh from a mission which he had successfully implanted. He arrived at Honolulu on November the 12th,[1] which place he again left on the 21st of the following month in order to propagate the Faith on the Island of Kauai. He landed at Koloa the next day, and was at once introduced to Captain Hudson and Mr. Pratt, the latter of these two gentlemen putting a horse at his disposal to facilitate his travels. There were perhaps already some Catholics on the island at that time, for Father Walsh states that after having made the acquaintance of the just mentioned gentlemen, he was conducted by the natives to the house of one Jakopo Pehu.

His first solicitude was for the establishment of a modest Catholic school, and only after having successfully accomplished this, did he begin the erection of a temporary altar, that he might be able to celebrate the Holy Mysteries on the ensuing Christmas Day. "I have celebrated the first Mass that has ever been celebrated to my knowledge on the Island of Kauai, and founded the mission of St. Raphael the Archangel." Thus the missionary jots down on December the 25th, 1841, this event memorable for himself and the Hawaiian Catholic Mission.

On the first day of 1842, Father Walsh went to pay his respects to Governess Kekauonohi, who received him "as well as expected," which probably means: as coolly and officially as possible.

Next day he again celebrated Mass and gave instructions to a large concourse of people, and recorded the names of several catechumens. The zealous priest evidently did not believe in slow development, but rather in sowing the good seed broadcast to the winds. After a stay of only a month at Koloa, he started for Hanalei, on the north coast of the island. Having arrived at that place on the 19th of January, he examined with interest the silk industry which Mr. Titcomb was conducting there. He made the acquaintance of several white persons, but for the moment does not seem to have had any opportunity for missionary work. On the day following he undertook the return trip to Koloa, and having passed the night at Moloaa at the house of Luapele, the konohiki of the place, he took down the names of thirty-four natives, who declared themselves desirous of studying the Catholic Faith. On the 21st he came back to Koloa, where he found a collaborator in the person of Father Barnabé Castan, who had arrived there the previous day. A week later he again left, this time to examine

1 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 773.

the western part of the island. At Hanapepe several catechumens were enrolled. They begged that Father Barnabé should be sent to instruct them further. This Father Walsh promised to do, but on his return to Koloa he found there a number of persons from Moloaa, who so strongly insisted that the young priest should establish himself in their village, that Father Walsh thought best to yield to their entreaties. As a guarantee they took along part of the luggage of their newly appointed pastor,[2] who joined them on the 8th of February, and having neither church, nor school, nor dwelling place, took up his residence in the house of the friendly kohohiki.[3] A school, however, was soon started, and with it began the opposition. On the 18th of February, Father Barnabé reported to his superior that the school inspector, who also was tax collector and judge, had tabooed the sea and the mountain for those parents who were about to send their children to the Catholic school; they were not even allowed to take from their land the taro they themselves had planted.[4]

Father Walsh at once betook himself to the Governess, and informed her of the school inspector's proceedings. She declared she had not heard of those incidents before, that at Koloa no such taboo existed, that she had given contrary instructions to the said official, and was going to remonstrate with him concerning it.

Having received a letter from her to the inspector, Father Walsh went over to Moloaa to look into the grievances. He found that several catechumens had been harassed the week previous to his arrival, by the petty overseers, that a policeman had been deprived of his position for having attended the Catholic services, and that a work overseer had been similarly discharged.

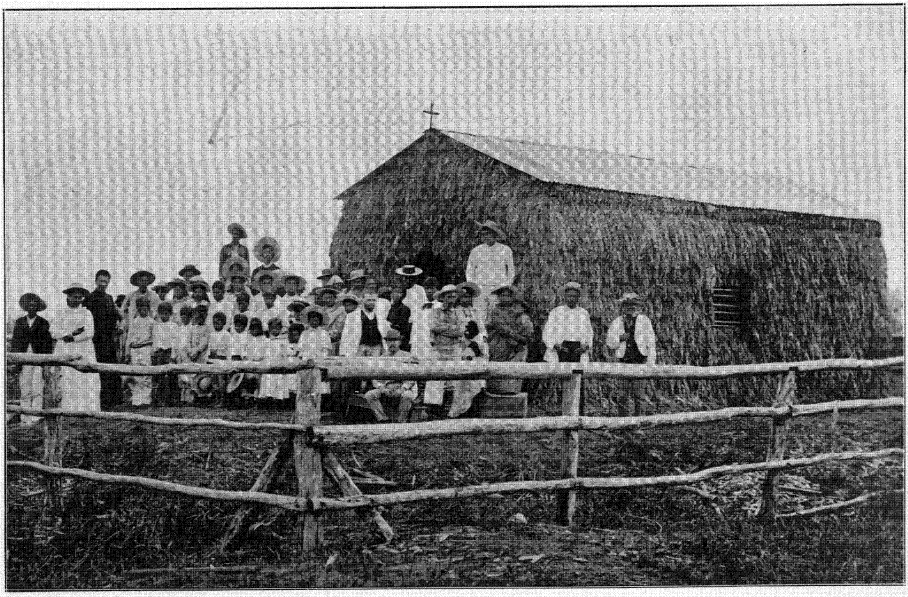
On his return to Koloa, the priest passed the night at Hanamaulu. There an old man, named Kaihe, informed him that the people were disposed to become catechumens, if they could be given some one to instruct them, and that they would also appreciate the establishment of a Catholic school in their village. Father Walsh promised that he would endeavor to grant their desire as soon as possible.[5]

Soon afterward Father Barnabé again complained that the konohiki who first had shown himself so kindly disposed, refused to grant a lot for the construction of a school and church. The Governess, however, having been informed, ordered that the land should be given for those purposes, and wrote a letter to the konohiki to this effect.[6]

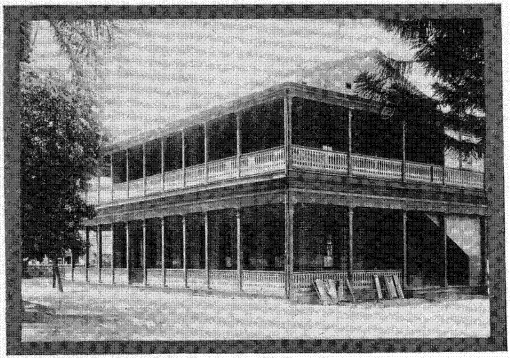
A source of frequent friction in those days was the refusal of the authorities to grant marriage licenses to Catholics. An instance of this kind of petty annoyance is reported by Father Walsh in the beginning of March. The Governess stated as her reasons that the woman had been a Protestant, and had not notified the minister of her renunciation. When the priest objected to her reason as not being supported by the law, she granted the license.

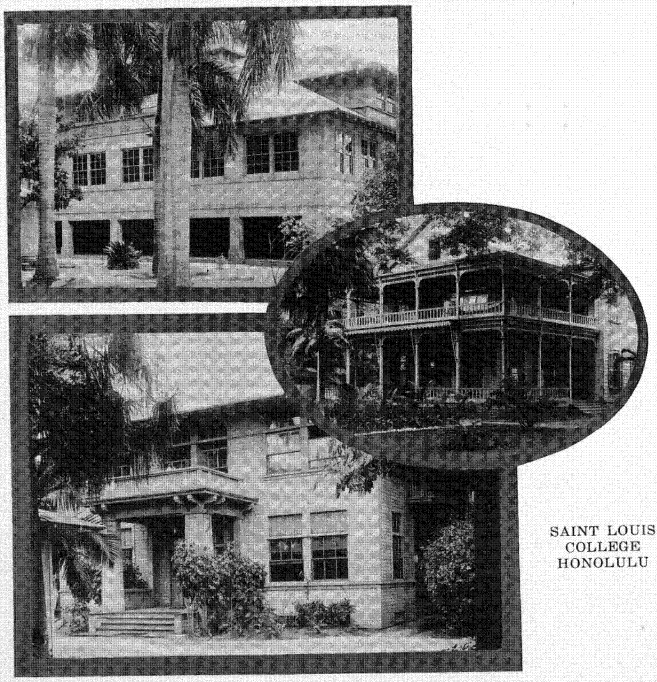
In the month of April, the catechumens who had been under instruction for nearly three months were judged fit subjects for baptism. On the tenth of that month, 49 of them were baptized by Father Walsh at Koloa, and a week later he administered the same Sacrament to 112 grown persons at Moloaa, whilst Father Barnabé baptized 14 children at the last named place on the succeeding day. About a month later, 20 adults and one child were added to the number of the faithful at Hanamaulu.

2 Father Walsh's Journal.
3 Bishop Maigret in Haimanava, p. 19.
4 F. Walsh's Journal, Febr. 18, 1842.
5 Ibidem, Febr. 20, 21.
6 F. Walsh's Journal, Febr. 28 and March 1; Haimanava, p. 20.



A PRIMITIVE CHURCH IN THE DISTRICT OF PUNA, HAWAII
The Priest is Father Bonaventure Loots, d. 1899





SAINT LOUIS
COLLEGE
HONOLULU

Having now established several Catholic congregations on Kauai, Father Walsh often cast desirous glances on the neighboring island of Niihau, which on his visits to Hanapepe he could discern on the western horizon as a sharp outlined cloud hanging on the waters.

Toward the end of July he was informed that several canoes were preparing to set sail for that island at Waimea. He at once determined to seize the occasion. At Waimea he called on Kealiiahonui, a son of King Kaumualii, to whom he communicated his plan. The chief requested him to improve the occasion by advising the children there to frequent the schools. This the priest readily promised to do. But when Kealiiahonui added that he meant the Protestant schools, Father Walsh said that far from advising them to do so, he would do all in his power to prevent it.[7] He sailed on the 25th and arrived the following day.

A neophyte by name of Eukakio (Eustache), who must have been informed of the Father's plans, had prepared a small chapel and presbytery.

On the 31st the first Mass was celebrated on Niihau, in the presence of a considerable congregation. Father Walsh remained on the island till the 17th of August, when he returned to Waimea. He had gained over to the Catholic Faith more than a hundred persons, to whom he administered baptism before leaving, probably considering that, on account of the difficult communications with Kauai, it was better to confer this grace upon them, although they were not yet fully instructed, than to leave them for a considerable time longer deprived of its benefits.[8]

During his three weeks' stay on the little isle, the priest aroused the ire of one Apela Tahitiae, who, uniting in his sole person the dignities of judge, tax-assessor, school inspector and school teacher, was a man of great consequence in that outpost of the Hawaiian realm. A certain Kamaunu, a catechumen probably, having been accused of some delict against the law, Father Walsh volunteered to be his lawyer, and consequently accompanied the man into the house of the judge on the day fixed for trial. The priest's greetings to the great man were not returned, but when he exposed the motive of his coming, he was ordered out of the house with a seething flow of abusive language; whereupon, judging that his client had not much chance of getting a fair trial in that particular court, the Father took him along to present him for trial at Waimea.

This incident became for him a source of further annoyance when arriving at the latter place he paid a visit to the Governess. She upbraided him for opposing the laws of the kingdom, and for the refusal of some Catholics to work for Protestant schools and churches. In another conversation she told Father Walsh that children who had previously enrolled in any of the Protestant schools should not be allowed to attend the Catholic establishments; to which the priest replied that all Hawaiian parents had a perfect right, granted them by law, to send their children to whatever school they pleased, as long as they did send them to school.

These difficulties grew partly from the fact that the authorities were not fully acquainted with the wording and meaning of the laws, and partly from the other fact of their being Protestants, which made them naturally resentful at the successful proselytism of the Catholic missioners. However, these difficulties were gradually eliminated through further legislation and better mutual understanding.

On September 8th, the general school inspector examined the children of Father Walsh's school at Koloa, and publicly manifested his satisfaction at the

7 F. Walsh's Journal, July 25, 1842.
8 Haimanava, pp. 50, 51.

progress they had made. He gave the priest an assistant teacher and appointed three school trustees. Four days later he similarly inspected the Catholic school at Moloaa. There the children were examined in reading and arithmetic, in both of which branches they showed efficiency. Their writing was not found to be of the best. Particular care had been taken at this school to instruct the girls in spinning, and during the examination they spun whilst singing. The inspector applauded the teacher and pupils, and dwelt particularly on the advantages they might derive from their knowledge of spinning. There also he appointed three school trustees and took occasion to inform Father Walsh that he might select a piece of land at Koloa whereupon to build his school.[9]

Once in a while disturbances still took place; on November 1st on Niihau, a private house which the Catholics had transformed into a little chapel, was broken into by Protestants, the altar was smashed to pieces and thrown out of the house;[10] at Kalihi-wai, the lumber which was in readiness for the construction of a chapel, was shivered to pieces;[11] several months later the altar of the chapel, which, in the mean time, had been constructed in the same place, was torn down by two constables by order of the headman of the place;[12] and about the same time a chapel at Kaunanui, Niihau, was razed to the ground by order of the above mentioned Judge Apela.[13] Father Barnabé himself at one time was confined to his house by order of the Governess for a reason which Father Walsh does not indicate, but which Father Maigret said "was to prevent him from answering the calumnies which she uttered against him."[14]

All this did not discourage the missioners, who rebuilt their chapels as soon as they were overturned. However, progress was slow, for the Baptism records from 1842 till 1860 show but 2463 baptisms. These first records, however, were very incomplete, as for instance, the 100 first baptisms at Niihau are not registered.

MAUI. Catholic priests did not establish themselves on Maui until April, 1846. Withal, they were welcomed at their arrival by a goodly number of over four thousand catechumens, who had been won over to the Catholic Faith principally by the untiring efforts of the catechist Helio Koaeloa, who therefore well deserves to be called the Apostle of that island.

Bishop Rouchouze is said to have called at Maui and to have baptized several persons.[15] This must have been on his trip to Hawaii between October 21st and November 7th.[16]

After the Prelate's departure, Father Maigret going to Hawaii in company with Father Denis Maudet, made a short stay at Lahaina, and on the 24th of January, 1841, offered the first Mass ever celebrated on the island in the house of a certain Joakini; some white people and a few natives who had been baptized at Honolulu assisted.[17]

This visit caused a catechist, Marie Joseph Kanui, to become active. This Kanui had accompanied Boki to England, and had been taken by Mr. John Rives to France, where he remained for fourteen years, receiving an education in the Motherhouse of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts at Paris. He returned to the islands after the visit of l'Artémise, and had resided on Maui since his

9 F. Walsh's Journal, Sept. 8, 12, 1842.—Lettr. Lith. I, p. 795.
10 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 802; F. Walsh's Journal, Nov. 1, 1842.
11 F. Walsh's Journal, Jan. 11, 1843.
12 Ibidem, Sept. 17, 1843.
13 Ibidem, Sept. 17, 1843.
14 Lettres Lithographiees, I, p. 831.
15 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 1009.
16 Haimanava, p. 6.
17 Haimanava, p. 9.

return. He seems to have been in the habit of attending the Protestant prayer-meetings until the visit of Fathers Maigret and Maudet. Probably exhorted by them, he began to make propaganda for the Catholic religion, and his efforts appear to have been crowned with some success.[18]

During his stay in France probably he had contracted a disease of the lungs; and to this sickness he succumbed shortly afterwards, dying at Honolulu on the 13th of April, 1842.[19]

It must have been about the time Kanui left for Honolulu that Helio began his activity. One of his first conquests was his younger brother, Petero Mahoe, who was on the point of joining the Protestants. Before many months had passed the number of his catechumens had increased to about a hundred. This little congregation seems to have lived principally at Wailuku. As the Protestant church of that place had to be roofed, the government officials considering this to be a public work, ordered Helio's followers to do it. This they refused to do, as being irreconcilable with their religious convictions, but they asked that public labor of some other kind should be assigned them. They were consequently put to work on the roads, but when they were going to their work, the tax-collector caused Petero Mahoe to be arrested and to be brought before him. At his house he and other members of the Protestant church endeavored to convert him to their belief; they were unsuccessful, and when the conference had lasted for nearly three hours, Petero's companions, who had followed him to the house, entered it and removed him.

There was then at Lahaina the school agent, David Malo, an ardent adherent to the Calvinist tenets, "a man," says Emerson, "of strong character, deep and earnest in his convictions, capable of precipitate and violent prejudices, inclining to be austere, and at times passionate in temper."[20] As the new Catholics refused to send their children to the sectarian public schools, the school agent began to enforce the law of May 21, 1841, (see ch. XIV), which, as we have seen, condemned the transgressors to starvation. He came himself to Wailuku, and having gathered the offending Catholics, he began by kicking about a little boy and by tieing the hands of the child behind him. Then he caused about a hundred catechumens, men, women and children, to be tied together, two by two, and conducted them all to Lahaina. There they were given some salt and *nonis*—a fruit which, being very insipid, the natives eat only in times of famine—and afterwards conducted before the governor of the island, one Auhea. This worthy wight informed the prisoners that they had not been arrested for the sake of their religion—for that, he said, bad and absurd as it was, concerned only themselves — but because they refused to send their children to the Protestant schools. At that moment, King Kauikeaouli, who had seen the troop of Catholics passing by, sent three officers to inquire what was going on. Having been informed of the facts, he expressed his dissatisfaction, in consequence of which the prisoners were released on the next morning. An increase of twenty catechumens was the fruit of this event.[21]

A laughable incident is related by one of the partakers of this expedition. Having returned to the house of his brother at Honuaula, he and his fellow Catholics began to erect a little straw chapel, where they might say their prayers together. A Protestant of that place named Keala, came to the spot and began to

18 Missionary Herald, XXXVIII, p. 285, Lettres Lith., vol. I, p. 770.
19 Bro. Calixte's Journal.
20 Preface to Hawaiian Antiquities, 1903, p. 12.
21 Relation of Maria Leahi, to Father Aubert Bouillon, in 1856. Arch. C. M.: M. 25.

break down the tiny shrine on the side opposite to the one they were working. But they being more numerous, repaired the damage quicker than he inflicted it, and seeing that he could not make them abandon their undertaking he went home. It is characteristic that they did not give the busy-body the beating he so well deserved.

Something similar and even more ludicrous happened shortly afterwards at a place Kahakuloa, where the narrator, Simon Kaoao, had gone. There also the Protestants had destroyed the chapel the Catholics had erected. The latter having rebuilt it from reeds, their adversaries came and with the intention of breaking the hut down, they pulled out some reeds, but as they cut their fingers in doing so, they gave up the scheme.[22]

In the summer of 1842, Father Desvault visited the island of Maui to encourage the growing congregations of catechumens.[23] During his stay, he enrolled some four hundred new catechumens, and baptized several children. He declined, however, to administer the sacrament of baptism to adults, probably not finding them sufficiently instructed.[24] He had also a conference with the King, to whom he declared that the Catholic children would not go to the sectarian schools.[25]

A singular demonstration which took place probably in October or November, 1843,[26] did more than Father Desvault's short activity to augment the number of catechumens and to stimulate the zeal of those already converted to the faith. A man named Kaiwiloa, had been instructed in the Catholic religion by Helio Koaeloa at Lahaina. Having returned to his village, Kahikinui in the district of Hana, he found that a few women there had also embraced the Faith. He consequently met with them at times to pray together. Knowledge of these little gatherings soon came to Mahune, judge at Wailuku, who at once sent policemen to arrest the culprits. They were tied together, and conducted to the aforesaid place. On their march thither the news of their arrest was noised abroad, and a great many of their co-religionaries joined them voluntarily. It appears that at that time the Catholics of Maui had made the following agreement. If any Catholic was accused of a crime, nobody should take interest in the case; but if he was brought to justice for religion's sake, then all who heard of it should declare their solidarity, and accompany him before the judge. In conformity with this resolution all the faithful who happened to live on the road by which the prisoners had to pass, dressed up the best they could, adorned themselves with flower wreaths, and joined the little band. Going eastward, they passed through Kaupo and Kipahulu, made a halt at Waialua, and then continued the journey along the north coast of the island until they reached their place of destination. Their number had been increased to over a hundred. All on the way they had been hospitably treated by the catechumens or neophytes they happened to meet; sometimes they remained two or three days in the same place, improving these halts to make new proselytes. The entire trip from Kahikinui to Wailuku, a distance of some ninety miles perhaps, took over a month, and when they finally arrived at Wailuku, they were simply dismissed without judgment, as the good judge Mahune found it probably impracticable to handle the crowd.[27] As a result of this demonstration, the number of catechumens in the places its partakers had come from, tripled. This journey was called by the natives, the "Paakaula," i. e., the tieing with ropes.

22 Ibidem.
23 He left Honolulu on June 18, and returned there July 23, 1842. Journal of Bro. Calixte.
24 F. Modest in Lettres Lithographiees; Relation of Maria Leahi, Arch. C.M.; M. 25, p. 5. Journal of Bro. Calixte, July 8, 1842.
25 Journal of Bro. Calixter, same date.
26 Cf. Arch. C.M.—M. 25, p. 10, and this volume, ch. XIV, p. —.
27 Relations of Petero Mahoe, Helio Kaiwiloa, Simeone Kaoao, Nahinu, and Punihele. Arch. C. M.—M. 25, pp. 11, 18, 21, 26 and 27.

Shortly afterwards, the King ordered his subjects to go to work on his sugar plantation at Wailuku. As a great number of Catholics gathered there, they built a chapel, the timber of which they had carried on their shoulders from a distance of over nine miles. The King's labor being finished as well as the chapel, the Christians returned home. Helio Koaeloa and his brother Petero Mahoe resolved to go around the island in order to encourage the newly enrolled catechumens. When they arrived at Hana, some 55 miles from Wailuku, a strange case of telepathy occurred to Helio, according to what his brother relates. "Having arrived at Hana 20 leagues from Wailuku, Helio said to us in a tone as if inspired; 'Our church in Wailuku is on fire. . . . . But,' he added, 'the evildoers will die insane.' "[28] According to the same Mahoe, the prophecy was fulfilled a fortnight later. He says: "Two weeks later, Hawaiiwaole, the man who before had spit in my face, became insane, and in his frenzy taking straw and coals, he ran, blowing upon them, along the streets; then he died." Four other Calvinists, friends of Hawaiiwaole, became similarly demented and died in the same manner.

Father Desvault mentions the burning of the Wailuku chapel in a letter dated December 29, 1843.[29]

Marie Leahi relates the occurrence in the following terms: "After my return (from Honolulu) when Petero Mahoe and Helio K. were making a trip around the island to encourage the catechumens, our chapel in Wailuku was burnt down. It was two Calvinist deacons who set it on fire during the night. Kaniho and Keala told me that they had seen them and heard them say: 'Let us burn the church down and we shall see if their God is mighty.' The witnesses are both pagans. Zerobabel Kaauwai, my son-in-law, who is a judge and a Calvinist deacon himself, told me that he had seen Puaa die, and heard him exclaim, shaking with rage: 'I die, because I have burnt down the Catholic chapel.' "[30]

I have no intention to have my readers see anything of a supernatural nature in this occurrence, and relate it simply for the sake of students of telepathy. In the fulfilment of the prediction we have presumably one of the cases of death by self-suggestion even now frequently occurring in Hawaii. They became insane and died, because they knew of the prophecy of Helio, whom from that moment they considered as a powerful "kahuna" who had prayed them to death.

About this time a co-disciple of David Malo, S. M. Kamakau by name, went on a crusade against the disciples of the faith which he had heard so ill spoken of during his student years at Lahainaluna, but which a few years later, 1859, he was to embrace himself. He came to Kipahulu, a southerly district of Maui, accompanied by a numerous troop of followers, and entering into the houses of the Catholic converts, robbed them of all they had: poi-pounders, hatchets, calabashes, clothing, and so on. This species of confiscation he inflicted upon the Catholics in accordance with a custom, called "Hao," by which, previous to the time that the people had a written code of laws, the high chiefs had the power to strip a wrongdoer of all his property.[31]

He also destroyed a little chapel which a Catholic, named Kekuaau, had constructed at that place.[32]

Notwithstanding this violent opposition, the Catholic faith continued spreading on Maui, and its adherents were estimated to be some 3,000 towards the end of 1844.[33]

28 Relation of Petero Mahoe; Arch. C. M.—M. 25, p. 11.
29 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 831.
30 Relations of Maria Leahi; Arch. C. M.—M. 25, p. 6.
31 Hawaiian Club Papers, Oct. 1868, p. 12.
32 Relation of Kekuaau, M. 25, p. 24, in Arch. C. M.
33 FF. Joachim Marechal and Jan Martial in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, pp. 856 and 865.

These numerous catechumens were ardently wishing for a resident priest to instruct them further in their religion and to administer the Sacraments, to receive which many of them often went to Oahu in their frail canoes. The arrival on March 26, 1846 of five priests, two catechists and three laybrothers,[34] enabled Father Maigret to send them the spiritual leaders they were so much in need of. Fathers Barnabé Castan and Modest Favens were to undertake the mission in company with Brother Jean Marie Gabriac. They embarked with four other priests in destination for the Big Island, and the Provincial, Father Desvault, who was to return to Honolulu after having established his little band on Maui. The party left Oahu on the 20th of April, 1846, and arrived at Lahaina the next day. The new mission, where they found nearly four thousand Catholics, of whom only 210 had received baptism, was dedicated to Our Lady of Victories. The zealous Helio was deprived of the consolation of seeing the priests reaping the rich harvest he had sown amidst so much trouble; "he died whilst we were at sea," says Father Modest.[35]

The day after their arrival, Fathers Desvault and Castan began their instructions. On the following Sunday, they celebrated Mass for the first time since their arrival, and preached before numerous audiences. They remained one week together at Lahaina; then they separated and went traveling around the island. Their labors were so successful that at the end of four months they could report as having baptized 1,600 persons, greatly increased the number of catechumens, and established several little schools where instruction was given to some 700 children.[36]

HAWAII. After a few months of painful struggle against the prejudice created by the equally absurd and infamous accusations brought against the Catholic religion by those who fed the Oahu and Lahainaluna missionary presses, Fathers Walsh and Heurtel began to see their prospects of ultimate success growing brighter. Up to the end of 1840, fifteen converts had been the meagre result of their strenuous endeavors. But when Father Maigret came to Kailua in the beginning of February, 1841, bringing with him Father Denis Maudet, a new laborer for the extensive mission field, he had the satisfaction of pouring the waters of regeneration over the heads of forty-five neophytes.[37] Not quite two months later 154 adults with their children received the Sacrament of Baptism from Father Heurtel, who enrolled also 38 new catechumens. Meanwhile Father Walsh had gone to Waimea, a village situated in the plain which separates the Kohala mountains from the snowclad Mauna Kea, to establish another missionary center. He remained there the entire month of March, and on coming back to Kailua, reported the enrollment of forty catechumens. A few days later he again returned to the new post in company with Father Maudet.[38]

From now on the number of Catholics at Kailua and elsewhere continues to increase. On November 6th, Father Heurtel reported having 655 neophytes at Kailua, whilst outside of the congregation at Waimea, Father Walsh had added the population of an entire hamlet, 350 souls strong, and situated either in Puna

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34 The names of the members of this missionary party were: Fathers Charles Pouzot, Modeste Favens, Chrysostome Holbein, Michael Coulon, and John Baptist Herbert; and Brothers Eudoxe Vallee, Jean Marie Gabriac (catechists), Elisee Prevot, Aquillee Carbonnier and Basile Andre, laybrothers.

35 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 1010.

36 F. Modest Favens, in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 1019; Bro. Eudoxe Vallee, ibidem, p. 1032. For detailed accounts of the activity of these first missionaries, see Lettres Lithographiees, pp. 1009-1034, and F. Modest's Journal.

37 Maigret's Journal, Febr., 1841.

38 Letter of F. Ernest Heurtel, Apr. 5, 1841, Arch. C. M.—M. 27. Letter of F. Denis Maudet, Lettres Lithographiees, vol. i, pp. 716-717.

or Kau, to the number of catechumens.[39] About the beginning of February, 1842, the mission may be said to have been established at Hilo, when Father Heurtel baptized there 136 persons, and engaged the new Catholics to erect three grass chapels there, and at other points of the district.[40]

In the beginning of November of the preceding year, Father Walsh had gone to Honolulu, and his place on the Big Island had been taken by two young priests, who had recently arrived, Fathers Stanislas Lebret and Joachim Maréchal. It was now decided to divide the island into four missionary districts, which were allotted as follows: Kona to Father Heurtel, Kohala to Father Lebret, Hamakua and Hilo to Father Maudet, and Kau with Puna to Father Maréchal. The latter was a very ardent young soldier of the Church militant. The district which was assigned him was an unfallowed ground, as no Protestant missionary had taken up a residence there, before the end of January, 1842, when the Rev. Mr. Paris had been sent thither. He writes of it in these terms: "Some of the people had gone to Hilo, and others to Kona, and heard the Gospel; and some have heard it not in vain, we hope; but the great mass of people are all in the darkness and degradation of heathenism. Most of them are exceedingly poor, often living for days without food, because they are too indolent to plant and cultivate their lands."[41]

Among this wretched people Father Joachim endeavored to implant the Catholic Faith towards the end of February. A great number readily followed his instructions, and soon he judged a hundred of them sufficiently instructed to be granted the grace of baptism. Within three months those who had embraced the Catholic faith amounted to nine hundred.[42]

When the parents turned Catholic, they withdrew their children from the Protestant schools, naturally to the great annoyance of the teachers. They moreover refused to work for the benefit of those schools, and in consequence the usual punishments were inflicted upon them. The poor people who already had so little to eat, were deprived of their lands, and forbidden to enjoy the fruits of their labor.[43]

This grew even worse when about the beginning of November, the school authorities came to Kau in company with the Rev. Mr. Coan from Hilo, to inspect the schools. They sent word to Father Maréchal that his Catholic pupils must come on a certain day to the Protestant schools, there to be examined as to their knowledge. The priest, who might well have yielded in this instance, as no principles were involved, refused to comply, but wanted the inspectors to conduct the examination in his own schools. They, however, were in a no more accommodating mood than the priest, and at once issued orders to "okiwaena" the parents of the Catholic school children.[44] Whilst the Catholics were greatly embittered by these drastic measures, the tax-collector, Pipi, ordered the arrest of a certain chief who lately had gone over to the Catholic faith with two hundred of his subordinates. The Catholics rushed in great numbers to the rescue of their coreligionary, surrounded the troop which had been dispatched to arrest him, and a scuffle took place, in which some persons on both sides were wounded. The Catholics being in the majority, routed their adversaries, and followed up their victory by entering into several houses of Protestant converts, who—says

39 F. Martial, Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 760. Cf. F. Maigret, ibid., p. 773, and the present volume, ch. VII, p. —.

40 Letter of F. Ernest Heurtel, Febr. 5, 1842, Arch. C. M.—M. 27.

41 Missionary Herald, vol. XXXIX., p. 173.

42 Letter of F. Heurtel, June 2, 1842, Arch. C. M. M. 27.

43 This punishment was called **okiwaena**, which means literally: "cut in twain." For not understanding this term, Father Aubert, in his relations of what happened to the Catholics on Maui, frequently says that they were threatened with **"Quartering."**

44 Letter of F. Heurtel, Nov. 6, 1842, Arch. C. M.—M. 27.

Brother Calixte—had profited by the recent "okiwaena," plundered them by way of compensation.[45]

The mission in Kau continued to flourish, for, less than two years after the fight we have mentioned, Father Maréchal boasted that two thirds of the population had become Catholic, whilst most of the Protestant schools were closed and great and flourishing Catholic schools had been established in their place.[46]

In the districts of the northeast coast, the situation was less favorable. The converts there were poorly instructed and not fervent. There and in Kona, the Protestants made great efforts to repair their losses; neither did they work entirely in vain.[47] The situation did not improve when in December, 1842, Father Maudet, owing to ill health, left for Honolulu, leaving Father Lebret, who but very imperfectly knew the language, alone to attend to the work in the northern and eastern parts of the island. If no great success crowned their efforts in those parts, it was not because they did not do their very best. Even the Rev. Mr. Lyons, the Protestant pastor of Waimea, praised their indefatigable zeal, and expressed a hope that he might be able to convert them, that they might become as strenuous in their efforts to extend "the Kingdom of Jesus as they were to extend the kingdom of Catholicism."[48]

Notwithstanding many neophytes apostatized here and there, the total number in the island went on increasing, and was estimated at seven thousand in the spring of 1845.[49]

At the time the mission on Maui was started, two young Fathers: Jean Hébert and Charles Pouzot were sent to Hawaii as a reinforcement. The latter established himself at the village of Hilo to the great discomfort of the resident Protestant pastor of that place.

The recollections of a son of one of the missionaries[50] are too interesting not to quote freely from them.

". . . Besides these enemies of good order, there was another foe whom our parents dreaded more than all the rest. Walking with my father one evening, we saw through the dusky twilight a strange figure drawing near under the protection of a shovel-hat and a black frock that reached to its feet. Staring blankly through a pair of spectacles into space, it made the sign of the cross and uttered a deprecatory ejaculation as it hurried past. I instinctively shrank behind my father, and, anxiously inquiring the significance of an apparition so uncanny, was informed that it was the Roman Catholic priest who had recently descended upon our fold. Ah! I knew what that meant, because as far back as I could remember, "Fox's Book of Martyrs" was one of our chief sources of Sunday recreation and joy. A few weeks later, Munson and I discovered a lonely native building, newly erected in an unfrequented part of the town, and open to the winds of heaven. A rude cross surmounted the ridge-pole, and a few tawdry colored prints looked down upon a floor of dried grass. A sort of wooden cupboard standing at the end opposite the door, and a gourdshell of holy water fixed at the doorpost, made up the entire furniture. Informed that this was the Roman Catholic chapel, we were stricken with terror, and fled for our lives, lest we too might somehow get burned at the stake like poor John Huss, or John Rodgers and his wife with her nine children in arms with one at the breast, whose martyrdom, depicted in certain popular volumes, made our tender hearts creep with horror as we read. I do not know the name of the priest who ministered to the few waifs and strays who then formed the shabby island following of the Holy See, but when, at the age of sixteen or seventeen years, I made the acquaintance of Father Charles Pouzot, the refined and delicate looking Frenchman who cared for the parish of Hilo, I found him a very saintly seeming personage. His flock, however, consisted for the most part of the devotees of tobacco and other loose livers whom Mr. Coan

45 Bro. Calixte's Journal, Jan. 1-4, 1843. Rev. Paris in Missionary Herald, vol. XL., p. 48.
46 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 857.
47 F. Heurtel, July 28, 1842, Arch. C. M.—M. 27.
48 Nonanona, vol. II, p. 75.
49 Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 873.
50 Henry M. Lyman, Hawaiian Yesterdays, pp. 75-78.

would not tolerate within his church on any consideration. No matter how upright and virtuous their lives, men and women who would not forsake the pipe were bundled out of the congregation of true-believers and handed over to the tender mercies of Satan and his host. All such hardened sinners were joyfully welcomed, as brands rescued from the burning, by the proselyters of the True Church, so that in a short time the papal emissaries laid claim to the souls of all who were not actually enrolled on the books of the American Mission. This was naturally very galling to an imperious spirit like that of the Protestant pastor, who ruled his numerous people after the manner of the great bishop that, in all but the title, he really was, and who could not brook the presence of a rival near the throne of grace. But this fact only added to the sympathy with which many of our foreign visitors regarded the efforts of the inoffensive little clerk who struggled so bravely against such tremendous odds; and it was annoying enough to see occasionally in the Honolulu papers a long list of gifts from Irish and French and Portuguese mariners who had sought absolution from the hands of Father Charles. Then Father Coan would thunder from his pulpit against "the woman in purple and scarlet," sitting "upon a scarlet beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns," . . . . . until the thatch fairly bristled on the roof of our sanctuary. . . . . ."

But the progress of the Mission was not to be stopped by either violent denunciations or petty persecutions. As long as the Catholic missionaries were faithful to the divine instructions, their success was certain. Frequently they were accused of obtaining converts by offering them pecuniary bribes, sometimes as high as $100.[51] They probably had never seen so much money together. They were dressed poorly; we may well say shabbily. They often went barefooted, having no money to buy shoes. Like the people to whom they preached the Gospel, they lived in grass huts and dieted on poi and fish. For a considerable time they forewent the consolation of saying Mass daily, and only celebrated the Holy Mysteries on Sundays, because they had to be sparing with Mass-wine. But for the comforts or the goods of the world cared not they, who had taken for their motto that of Saint Francis Xavier: *Da mihi animas, caetera tolle tibi.* Give me souls; the rest you may keep for yourself.

No wonder then that success came to them who worked so indefatigably and with such disinterestedness that even their adversaries could not withhold their praise.

51 Jarves, History, p. 332; Missionary Herald, 1843, pp. 198, 287, 364; 1844, p. 190.

CHAPTER XVI

Episcopate of Bishop Louis Maigret

Nomination and Resignation of Father Duboize.—Father Maigret Elected and Consecrated Bishop.—El Dorado.—Jesuits.—Father Flavian Fontaine.—His College at Mission Dolores.—In Bankruptcy.—In the Various Missions.—Mormons in Hawaii.—The Anglican Mission.—Press and Publications.—Schools.—Arrival of Sisters of the Sacred Hearts.—Ahuimanu.—Father Larkin.—His College.—Father Herman Koeckemann as Coadjutor.—The Collapse of St. Louis College building.—Exit Father Larkin.

When month after month elapsed after the departure of the Marie Joseph from St. Cathérine, and nothing was heard of the vessel, the grave doubts which had been entertained concerning the fate of Bishop Rouchouze and his missionary party grew into certainty. The Holy See was informed of the disaster which had deprived the Vicariate-Apostolic of Oriental Oceanica of its first bishop.

As the mission in this extensive vicariate had taken considerable development since its erection, it was decided to make vicariates out of the two prefectures into which it had been formerly divided. Father Baudichon, a missionary in the Marquesas, was created Bishop of Basilinopolis and Vicar Apostolic of the southern groups of Oriental Oceanica. He was consecrated at Santiago de Chile on December 21, 1845. Another missionary of the same group, Father Vincent Ferrier Duboize, was elected Bishop of Arathia and Vicar Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands. The election took place at Rome on the 13th of August, 1844. Unaware of his promotion he left for Tahiti two months later, and being in bad health, asked permission to go to Valparaiso.[1] Meanwhile having received the news of his elevation to the episcopate, he left Tahiti on April the 25th, 1845, for Valparaiso, for the double purpose of restoring his health and receiving the episcopal consecration.[2] However, once there he changed his mind, and disclosed to the Holy See weighty circumstances which prevented him from accepting the episcopal dignity and the pastoral care of the Sandwich Islands mission.[3] His resignation was accepted, and Father Maigret was elected in his place with the same title of Bishop of Arathia, on September 11, 1846.

Louis Désiré Maigret was born September 14, 1804, at Maille, Poitou, in France. Having completed his studies in the colleges of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts at Poitiers and at Paris, he was ordained a priest in 1829, and in that same year appointed professor of philosophy at the seminary of Rouen, which charge he kept for five years. In 1834, he accompanied Bishop Rouchouze to the Gambier Islands, and zealously labored there till his unsuccessful attempt to continue the Sandwich Islands mission, which has been related in Chapter X.

He received the tidings of his nomination to the episcopate on the 24th of April, 1847, but did not leave to receive consecration until July 11th. He arrived off Santiago the 21st of October, and from his journal we learn that he had improved the voyage by reading Tertulian's Apology, Origene's Treatise against Celsus, in composing a booklet in Hawaiian on the Consecration of Bishops[4] and

1 Brief of Pius IX, appointing Father Maigret Vicar Apostolic., Sept. 11, 1846; also Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, p. 904.

2 His Letter in Lettres Lithographiees, vol. I, pp. 905-908.

3 "Quum . . . ob gravia quaedam verum adjuncta Nobis exponendum curaverit, se omnino praepediri quominus Episcopalem dignitatem ac pastorale memoratae Missionis regimen excipiat, atque idcirco oblata sua renuntiatione Nobis supplicaverit ut ad alterius Vicarii apostolici Episcopi electionem deveniamus . . . . . " Brief of Pius IX, as above.

4 O na Oihana e pili ana i ka Hoolaa ana i ka Epikopo, 31 pp. Valparaiso, 1847.

by translating the first book of the Imitation of Jesus Christ into the same language.[5]

The consecration was performed by Hilarion Itura, Bishop of Augustopolis, at Santiago on the last day of October. A month later the new prelate returned to Honolulu, where he arrived on February 1st, 1848, after having made a few days' stay at Hilo and celebrated Mass "in the humble chapel of Father Charles."[6]

We must now speak of a missionary undertaking which, although executed far away from the Hawaiian Islands, was from there planned and directed, and in consequence properly finds a place in its ecclesiastical history.

Although in the early thirties the Franciscan Fathers in California were unable to cope with the needs of the missions entrusted to them, and looked for help to the Picpus Fathers who labored on Hawaii, their numbers had not been strengthened when the discovery of gold in 1848 occasioned that broad flowing and steady stream of immigration which since has been designated as the "Gold Rush."

Again Father José Maria de Jesus Gonsalez, vicar capitular of the Californian diocese, sought succor across the sea from the Hawaiian mission. On the 23d of March, 1848, he wrote to Bishop Maigret for two or three of his missionaries. The Bishop answered that as in Hawaii as elsewhere the laborers were few whilst the harvest was large, he could not comply with the request, but that he would hasten to make known the needs of California to the Congregation of the Propaganda.[7]

Less than four months later, however, he changed his mind, and on October 31, of the same year, Fathers Stanislas Lebret and Chrysostome Holbein embarked at Honolulu for the Gold Land in company with Brothers Eliseus Prévot and Ladislas Ruault. He explains the reasons for this expedition in a letter to the Archbishop of Chalcedonia, dated Nov. 20, 1848.

"California is going to be an important country. Everybody is going thither. Soon there will be over a million of inhabitants. Gold mines have been discovered there, out of which they draw gold with full hands. They are making up to 100, 200 and even 300 dollars a day. There is gold everywhere: in the rivers, in the plains and in the mountains. The clergy of California have written to me that I should come to their rescue. The faithful have expressed the same wish. We have a great many Hawaiians over there. All these considerations, together with the prospect of finding some resources for our Sandwich Mission and to see there some day a house of our institute, have engaged us to send thither Fathers Lebret and Chrysostome accompanied by Bros. Eliseus and Ladislas. We could not have done it, if we had had to pay the passage, but a benevolent society has taken upon itself to defray the expenses . . . . . Father Lebret has been appointed Superior . . . ."

They arrived at their destination during the month of November, one of the party, Bro. Ladislas, returning by the same vessel to Honolulu, where he debarked towards the end of December and from whence he again sailed for El Dorado a month later.

Whilst announcing the coming of the little band, Bishop Maigret offered to come over himself after completing the inspection of his own vicariate, which he was then engaged in.[8]

On the 1st of February, 1849, Padre Gonsalez wrote directly to the Archbishop of Chalcedonia, then superior general of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, expressing the satisfaction he had experienced through the arrival of

5 O ka Livere Mua o ka Hahai ana mamuli o Jetu Kirito, 64 pp. Valparaiso, 1847.
6 Maigret's Journal.
7 Letter of Maigret to Gonsalez, July 9, 1848.
8 Letter to Father Gonsalez, Oct. 25, 1848.

Fathers Lebret and Holbein, and asking for more priests of the same Congregation, principally such as were conversant with the English and Spanish languages. He enclosed a promissory note for $2000 to defray the expenses of such party.

About the same time Father Lebret also had written to his superior general anent the establishment of a college in California, His letter became a cause of some slight misunderstanding which, however, was soon cleared away.

In answer to these two letters, Archbishop Bonamie wrote to Padre Gonsalez under date of August 11, 1849:

"In conformity with your request I am going to prepare a party of some religious who can open a school or college in the vast establishment which you offer me through Father Lebret, and which I gratefully accept. It will be doubtless necessary that this donation which you make to our congregation be founded on a sure title that will insure us against all reverses. May it please your Reverence to consolidate this donation in such a way as may appear to you the surest and the best.

"My thanks also for the $2000 which you promise for the passage of some of our religious.

"I do not know however when they will be able to leave, but hope that their departure will take place before the end of this year."

In reply to this letter Father Gonsalez says that he awaits with impatience the coming of the promised missionaries; but, that as far as the rural establishment (country seat) is concerned, there must be an error due either to a lapsus calami or a misunderstanding caused by Father Lebret's imperfect understanding of the (Spanish) language. For, says he,

"I neither did propose giving that country seat to your dear congregation, nor even could do so; oh! that I had been or were even now able! The only rural establishment belonging to this diocese was long ago set apart by Bishop Garcia of good memory who first and last held this Church, for a seminary or college for clerics, which certainly, as you know well, I may not alienate without consulting the Holy See and without its authorization. When therefore I have spoken to Father Lebret about this establishment, there could be no question of its ownership but only of its administration in one way or another; to wit, that first two priests of your congregation and two laybrothers together with the present rector of the seminary till his death or till he resigns his charge, and later as many of said persons as will be judged necessary, administer, take care of and improve this vast rural property, under condition however that its revenues be employed both for the support of the priests and preceptors, and for the sustenance of such young men as will be there educated for the priesthood. (In spem Ecclesiae.) This is the only thing which it is in my power to do; this the only thing which I have proposed, and concerning which, if you desire guarantees, I will give such as you may require and I can give ....."[9]

On April 23, 1850, four priests, one cleric, and three laybrothers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts left France with destination for Valparaiso, all or part of whom the authorities of the order at that place might send to California according to their judgment.

In a later letter to Father Gonsalez, the Superior-General mentions the departure of his religious, and at the same time announces the election of a bishop for California from among the candidates proposed by the Council of Baltimore. The Dominican Father Charles Montgomery is probably meant.

Archbishop Bonamie adds:

"It will be agreeable to the Congregation of the Propaganda if a college for the education of the youth be opened at San Francisco by priests of our congregation. Cardinal Franconi wrote to me on this subject, and addressed another letter to the

9 Letter dated Idus Februarii (Febr. 13), 1850.

bishop-elect of California, that he might furnish our priests with the necessary means as far as is in his power."[10]

Before the little band of missionaries had left France, three Picpus Fathers had been sent to California from Valparaiso. They were Fathers John Gaspard Dumonteil, Félix Miguel, and Théodose Boissier. They arrived at their destination on March 18, 1850.[11] The latter had been in Hawaii with Fathers Bachelot and Short from their arrival till Sept. 29, 1829. He was not yet ordained then. Soon after their arrival Fathers Miguel and Boissier appear to have been put in charge of the above mentioned seminary. This at least we may infer from a letter addressed to Father Gonsalez by the Bishop of Juliopolis in which he says: "I received your pleasant letter of May 10th last, wherein you acquaint me with the transfer (la entrega) of the seminary and of $3,000 to Fathers Théodose Boissier and Félix Miguel."[12]

Unfortunately for the Picpus Fathers, powerful rivals had arrived about this time. Two Italian Jesuits, Fathers Accolti and Nobili had come to San Francisco at the invitation of Father Antoine Langlois, a secular priest aspiring to become a member of the Company of Jesus,[13] and who on February 25, of the following year was appointed Vicar Forane of the diocese.[14]

The Vicar capitular seems to have approved of the invitation;[15] at any rate he welcomed them with "unspeakable satisfaction,"[16] and renewed a wish he had formerly expressed of seeing two colleges of the Society established in California, one in the north and one in the south[17] at Los Angeles.

To this hearty welcome the two Jesuits answered that they already had made some arrangements for the commencing of a college at San José, then the chief city of Southern California;[18] they rather declined for the moment the proposition concerning the southern establishment.[19]

While matters were thus proceeding, Father Accolti was informed by Father Langlois that the Fathers of Picpus had serious intentions of establishing themselves at Mission Dolores.[20] This news greatly alarmed him, and he consequently wrote to Father Gonsalez begging him to assign the limits of the sphere of action of the two orders which thus found themselves side by side in this new region. He suggested that the southern part of the vast territory should be assigned to the Picpus Fathers, whilst he claimed the northern part for his own society.[21] "My letter," he says, "produced the desired effect, and the Picpus Fathers were immediately invited to establish themselves at different points in the old missions situated in Southern California."[22]

In fact, they were put in charge of the Mission Santa Ines, as we see by the records of that mission, 1850-51. Father Dumonteil, however, remained at Mission Dolores, in whose registers his name is found for the last time November 4, 1851. Meantime two other Fathers of his Congregation had left Valparaiso

10 Letter of March 13, 1850. The names of these religious are given in the Annals for the Propagation of the Faith, French ed. XXIII, p. 160. Father Flavien Fontaine is the only one of them who actually went to California.
11 Journal of Father Langlois, quoted in First Half Century by St. Ignatius Church, Riordan, p. 45.
12 Letter of Aug. 19, 1850.
13 Riordan, First Half Century, p. 18.
14 Circular of Padre Gonsalez, Febr. 25, 1850, Reg. 1° Lib. del Gobierno, foj. 8.
15 Riordan, op. cit. p. 22.
16 Ibid., p. 25.
17 Ibidem, pp. 26, 28.
18 Ibid., pp. 30, 31.
19 Ibidem, p. 32. Letter of F. Accolti and Nobili, April 9, 1850.
20 Ibidem, p. 47.
21 Ibidem, p. 47.
22 Ibidem, p. 47.

about the middle of August, 1850, and soon afterwards joined Father Dumonteil. They were Fathers Flavian Fontaine and Anaclet Lestrade.[23]

The latter went south, where we find him successively at San Gabriel (June-July, 1851), and at Los Angeles (till 1858). Father Flavian remained at Mission Dolores, and, says the author of the First Half Century of St. Ignatius, "it would have been better for him and for us, had he not remained."[24]

Father Flavian Fontaine was born June 25, 1810 at Ellezelles, in the diocese of Tournay, Belgium. He became a secular priest and was for some time pastor in his native diocese; but later entered the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts in which he made profession of the vows on September 8, 1849. He was a tall man with black hair, of commanding figure and handsome face. He spoke English fluently and without foreign accent.[25]

Father Flavian now again took up the plan, shortly before frustrated by the Jesuits, of establishing a college at San Francisco. The author has not been able to ascertain at what date exactly he started his establishment; however, in the beginning of 1852, the enterprising missionary was teaching in an adobe building to the north of Mission Dolores, and separated from it by a line of houses. The school contained three rooms with as many teachers, though the pupils do not seem to have much exceeded twenty.[26]

In 1853, Father Fontaine decided to acquire land and erect on it a brick building in which he could accommodate not only day-scholars but boarders as well. On May 11th of that year, he purchased from one J. V. Hollinshead for the consideration of $750, a piece of land situated at the Mission Dolores, containing 8 1/5 acres more or less. The property had been squatted on in 1851 by Messrs. J. V. Hollinshead and John Center, but as the latter had never lived upon the place, Father Fontaine seems to have thought that the title so far as there was any, belonged to Hollinshead; and so the bargain was made with him, and the property transferred by him. With the land in his possession, it was time for Father Fontaine to form plans for building. He called into requisition the services of Mr. Michael Fennell, a builder and contractor, who agreed to erect a college 60 by 30 feet, two stories high, for the sum of $9000, which sum Father Flavian agreed to pay as follows: $2,500 whilst the building was in progress, and $1,000 immediately after its completion, and the remainder on the first day of November following at the rate of 2% a month; with the exception of the brick which one Thomas Dorland was to furnish for the erection of the building, for which the amount was to be taken out of the $9,000, and which separate payment Father Flavian was to settle with the said Thomas Dorland.[27]

The building was situated north of the present 14th street, and was placed on a rising ground where Walter street now runs. The contract for the building having been signed, the work soon commenced, and with it, Father Flavian's troubles. What ready money he had seems to have been soon exhausted. On July 30th, he paid Fennell $400; on August 6th he added $500 more; five days later he gave $220 and paid Dorland for bricks $250. Then came the borrowing. On the day of the last payment he gave to one D. Jobson his note for $2,000, at 4% a month until paid.

According to the author of the First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church (who is about our only authority for Father Flavian's history, as the archives of the motherhouse of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts and

23 Letter of Bishop of Juliopolis, Aug. 19, 1850.
24 Opere citato, p. 47.
25 A. P. F. XXIII., p. 160. First Half Century, p. 50.
26 First Half Century, pp. 50, 51.
27 Ibidem, pp. 52, 53.

of these establishments at Honolulu and Valparaiso contain, strange to say, no documents shedding light on his educational enterprise), this Mr. Jobson must have been a shrewd man in money matters. He doubtless knew the financial standing of his borrower; and he therefore required, as a condition of the loan, that the note should be endorsed. Dona Ciprian de Bernal went security and received in recompense her *own* measure of woes.

Other payments followed until September 15th, when Father Flavian, hard pressed for money, gave his note for $2,350 to Dona Ciprian, said note to run a year; settled what debts he could, for on that day he paid Fennell $400, abandoned a project which had proved so disastrous, and left the city. He seems to have died shortly afterwards at Panama.[28]

A few days after the priest's departure, Fennell and Dorland filed in the office of the County Recorder of the county of San Francisco mechanic's liens, amounting jointly to $7,986.

At this stage of the proceedings Father Nobili, S. J., who that same year had begun a college at Santa Clara, entered into the matter. He settled with Fennell and Dorland, and so laid claim to the property. It now developed that the title of Father Flavian to the land was of no value, being that of a squatter. Father Nobili obtained the cession to him in person of other titles better founded in law, and entered into possession of the land.

When the college was completed in November, Father Veyret, S. J., opened school therein. It proved a complete failure, and was closed before it had existed one year. The building, neglected, fell into decay, and seems to have been ultimately destroyed by fire.[29]

Thus terminated the mission of the Picpus Fathers at San Francisco, for Father Dumonteil had left Mission Dolores in the latter part of 1851.

The details we have been able to gather concerning their activity in Southern California are very meager.

About the month of August, 1851, Father Anaclet Lestrave became pastor of Los Angeles. A month later he received an aid in the person of Brother Edmund Venisse, a subdeacon of his congregation. Yet another Father was with them (perhaps Father Jude-Thaddeus Pivet), for Bro. Edmund wrote on September 18, 1851: "We are three at Los Angeles to see if we can establish a school, a college or something approaching it."[30] How far they succeeded we may judge from another letter of the same, written after his ordination to the priesthood at San Francisco on November 19, 1854. "I was ordained a priest by Bishop Alemany at San Francisco. Soon I returned by sea to the Pueblo de los Angeles where I had been occupied for two years in quality of schoolmaster, teaching a bit of everything to some poor children."[31] The school does not seem to have continued, for in the same letter the neomist says: "After a stay of a few days at Santa Ines, I came back to Los Angeles where I found my kind pastor, Father Anaclet. I helped him as well as I could, this time not as school teacher, but as missionary. Our church which some time ago was too large, had now grown insufficient for the needs of the congregation. The work was immense, and two more priests would not have lacked work. Always a-going, sometimes on foot, other times on horseback, by day or by night, I went at times as far as seventy-five miles to exercise the ministry. Most of the time I went to San Fernando, another mission in charge of Father Anaclet. These good people, almost all of them Indians, have been without a priest for the last eight or ten years. At

28 Op. cit. pp. 52-54, 59.
29 Op. cit. pp. 63-66.
30 Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, 1852, p. 407.
31 Ann. Prop. Foi, XXX., p. 57.

every visit I celebrated the Holy Mysteries, taught catechism, heard confessions, baptized the children and attended the sick."[32]

In the summer of 1855, he made a trip to Hawaii for the sake of his health, but as it grew rather worse there, he again returned to California shortly afterward, where he arrived in time to be present at the installation of Bishop Amat. He did not remain long, for, says he: "As the principal aim of our Congregation in this country had been the establishment of a college, and the time marked by Providence did not seem to have come, it was decided that I was to leave for Chile."[33] He arrived at Valparaiso on the 22nd of May, 1856, and was sent from there to Copiapo, where the Picpus Fathers had a flourishing college.

Father Chrysostome Holbein had been put in charge of the mission at San Diego almost immediately after his arrival in 1849, and constantly remained there. His name appears for the last time on the Baptism Records on September 27, 1854.

Fathers Boissier and Miguel, who at the instances of the Jesuits had been sent to St. Ines, must have returned to Valparaiso in 1851; their place was taken by Father Thaddeus Pivet, whom Father Venisse mentions as pastor of St. Ines, speaking of a visit to that place in November, 1851.[34] The Catholic Directory makes mention of him for the last time in 1854.

To Father Amiable Petithomme the same Directory successfully adjudges the stations of St. Ines (1851), San Fernando (1852), San Bernardo and San Salvador (1853), and San Salvador (1854). The following year he left for Honolulu, where he arrived on the 31st of October.[35] He was then suffering from paralysis. Four days later, Father Modest Favens, provincial of the Picpus Fathers in Hawaii, left for Hawaii in quality of Visitor, having received orders from his Superior-General to that effect, two months previously. He was back at Honolulu on February 15th of the following year. The report of his visit cannot be found in the Archives of the Motherhouse, and hence we do not know the motives that prompted the Picpus Fathers to abandon the Californian mission, which, far from being a source of revenues for the Hawaiian mission as it had been hoped, had become for the struggling Vicar Apostolic a cause of much financial and mental worry.

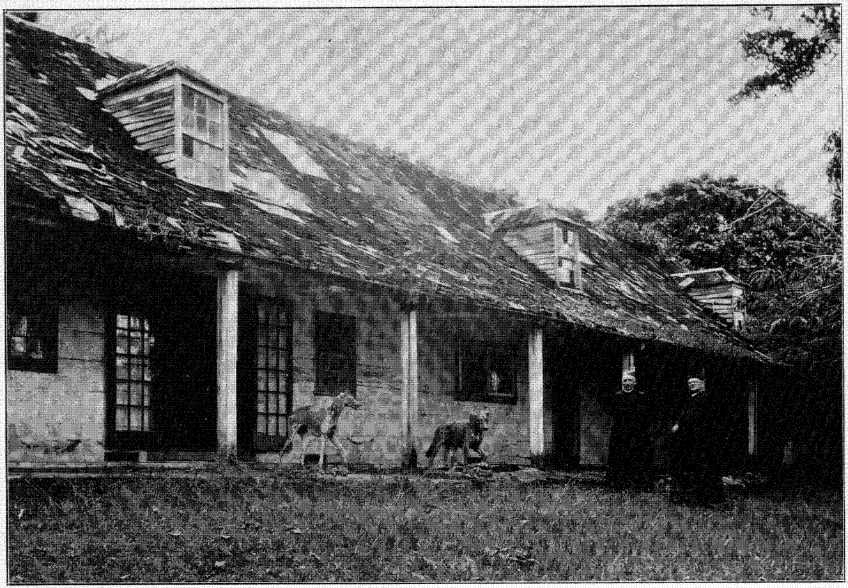
However, the Catholic Church was by this time solidly established in the archipelago. Persecution had passed forever, and none but the ordinary difficulties had to be coped with. These difficulties, however, were not inconsiderable during the entire duration of Bishop Maigret's administration. The Protestant missionaries, quite naturally continued to oppose in word and script their Catholic rivals. But the combat ceased to be merely dual when successively the Mormons and the Anglicans came upon the field.

Ten Mormon elders arrived from Utah, December 12, 1850. Without delay they scattered over the four principal islands. Before long, several of their number, discouraged by the obstacles they met with, and by the lack of success, returned home; one of them, their president, going to Tahiti. After a while, their places were filled by others. On the island of Maui, they soon made considerable impression on the native mind, and succeeded in making many converts. After the arrival of more elders in February, 1853, they renewed their efforts on Oahu and elsewhere, and claimed large numbers of proselytes.[36]

Their success was such that in 1854 the elders claimed for themselves the

32 Ibidem, p. 59.
33 A. P. F., XXX., pp. 63-68.
34 A. P. F., XXX., p. 58.
35 Bishop Maigret's Journal.
36 Geo. Q. Cannon, My First Mission, pp. 43, 46, 52, 55.

BISHOP HERMAN KOECKEMANN AND CLERGY, ABOUT 1888



THE COLLEGE OF AHUIMANU
This photo was taken in 1926. The Priests are Fathers Valentine and Reginald

same privileges (exemption from taxation, grants of land for schools and churches, etc.) which ministers of the Protestant and Catholic Churches enjoyed. Their demands were then denied. In less than four years they claimed to have admitted to baptism not less than four thousand persons.

The school and the press were the means employed by Bishop Maigret to oppose the adversaries of the Faith.

The first press used by the Catholic Mission was mounted November 5, 1841. It has been bought for $150, but Bro. Calixte who gives these details in his journal, does not say where it came from. The first publication struck from it seems to have been "Vahi Hoite Katolika," (Explanation of the Catholic Religion), of which during the month of December, 2000 copies were printed. Several other booklets soon followed, as two editions of a pamphlet called "Ke Kuhiheva," (The Error), a little catechism and prayerbook, and some kind of a primer.

However, in September, 1842, Father Maigret complained: "They (the Protestants) have excellent presses of the new kind, whilst we have only a bad one the characters of which do not mark."[38]

A new press was sent from France in July, 1845, and arrived at Honolulu during the month of March of the following year.[39]

With its accessories it had cost 11,000 francs ($2,200). It must here be remarked that this press coming from France, the type naturally contained but an insufficient number of k's and w's, these letters being hardly used in the French language, whilst they abound in the Hawaiian tongue. In the early years of the 19th century, the T was used instead of the K by the natives of Maui, Oahu and Kauai, and even Kamehameha II, who was of the Big Island, where the K was preferred, used to sign his name Tamehameha. Even now the T is still used by elderly Hawaiians and more generally by the natives of the northernmost island.

The new press was kept busy for many years. Prayerbooks, devotional brochures, catechisms, controversional pamphlets and the like kept the press going the remaining years of the sixth decade.

In January, 1860, the Hae Kiritiano (The Christian Standard), a semi-monthly made its first appearance. This periodical lasted three full years. It was a controversional paper, and intended especially to answer the attacks of the Protestant newspaper "Ka Hoku Loa Kalawina."

It reappeared in May, 1868, as a monthly under a somewhat changed title "Ka Hae Katolika," the Catholic Standard. This was more of a religious newspaper. The last number seen is of February, 1871, but nothing in that issue suggests that it is to be the last one; on the contrary, there is an article which is "to be continued."

SCHOOLS. When Bishop Rouchouze left for Europe, it was his intention to bring along with him on his return some nuns for the education of the Catholic girls of his vicariate. Several sisters of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts embarked actually with him on the ill-fated Marie-Joseph, and shared her doom.

Either from a lack of financial facilities or on account of the alarm which the disaster had caused among the good Sisters in France, no new efforts to introduce nuns into the archipelago were made for many years.

The plan seems to have cropped up again in May, 1855, at a dinner offered

38 Letter of Sept. 22, 1842.
39 Report to the Board of the Propagation of the Faith, 1846. Journal of Bishop Maigret, March 31, 1846.

by the King to the French admiral Fournichon whereto the Bishop was also invited.[40] A year later, a piece of land alongside of the Cathedral was acquired together with a house for the sum of $4,000. Another adjacent house was subsequently obtained for $2,250.[41]

On May 4th, 1859, ten Sisters of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts arrived at Honolulu, and met with a most kind reception from the authorities and the people generally. A boarding school was opened by them on the 9th of July, and on August 2d, day scholars were received.

The number of pupils rapidly increased, and in 1865, an extension had become necessary.

The college of Ahuimanu similarly flourished about this time. In his report of 1865, the Bishop says: "The college and the schools are doing well. But as the number of pupils is continually on the increase, it has become necessary to enlarge the college. First we have added a story and a top floor with an attic; then we have been obliged to construct a new building. And yet we are lacking room."[42]

In 1865 the college seems to have reached the acme of its prosperity. It is not stated how many pupils were then on the rolls. From 30 in 1862, and 40 in the next year, they had increased to 50 by the end of 1864. The above quotation points to a considerable increase.

The cause of this success is to be found perhaps in a change of principals which had taken place in June 1859. Father Eustate who in 1857 had taken the place of Father Delvaux, was now succeeded by Father Walsh who introduced the English language as vehicle of instruction. He remained at the head of the institution till his death which took place there, on the 14th of October, 1869. His remains rest in the King Street cemetery at Honolulu.

However, in his annual report of April, 1866, the Vicar Apostolic complains that the King had ordered ten pupils to be taken from Ahuimanu and sent to the Episcopal school. From then on the number remained more or less stationary for some years; in 1873 it is yet at 50; then for some unknown reason it began to decline rapidly. In 1876 only 28 boys follow the course;[43] two years later but six are left. For some time the Institution had received from the Board of Education a yearly grant of $400 in the form of eight Hawaiian scholarships; owing to the small attendance, this aid was then withheld.[44]

Although thus having outlived its usefulness, the college was allowed to vegetate for a few years, when its place was successfully taken by the new college of St. Louis at Honolulu, the foundation of which we have now to relate.

FATHER LARKIN. Toward the end of the seventh decade of the preceding century, the schools in the Islands, and especially in the capital, became more and more anglicized. The ever increasing number of foreigners, and even many of the natives, preferred to have their children educated in the English tongue. In 1880, to satisfy this popular demand, instruction was given in that language in 60 schools to 3086 pupils, whilst the remaining 150 schools of the Kingdom, in which Hawaiian was the chief medium of instruction, were attended by 4078 pupils. Of this number ten schools were under the auspices of the Catholic Mission with a total of 626 pupils; in all of them English was the medium of instruction. They were located in the following places:

40 Letter of May 10, 1855, Arch. Motherhouse.
41 Maigret's Journal, May 2, Dec. 1, 1856.
42 Report to the Board of the Propagation of the Faith, April 5, 1865.
43 Report President Board of Education, 1876, p. 9.
44 Report Board of Education, 1878, p. 17.

Honolulu (Sisters of the SS. HH.) 112 girls; Hilo, 60 boys and 60 girls; Wailuku, 74 boys; Ahuimanu, 17 boys; Heeia, 43 boys and 22 girls; Koloa, Kauai, 15 boys and 22 girls; Lahaina, 48 boys and 30 girls; Waipio, 19 boys and 15 girls; Honokaa, 11 boys and 17 girls; and Waiohinu, 33 boys and 25 girls.

Some of the Hawaiian Government schools were in reality Catholic schools, for instance, the school of L. Kaaikauna, with 56 boys, and of S. M. Kiritina with 61 girls, both on the premises of the Catholic Mission at Honolulu.

The need of a Catholic English school was then very badly felt at Honolulu, as we see from a letter dated July 18, 1879, addressed by Father Herman Koeckemann to his Superior-General: Speaking of the education of the boys, he says:

"Besides the Hawaiian school with some 50 to 60 pupils, we have nothing (at Honolulu), and it is saddening to see more than three hundred boys being lost. The parents are either incapable or too indifferent to impart religious instruction. . . . . They rely upon the school, which does nothing. . . . . As to the children themselves, a certain number yet come to Mass, but without knowing what is going on at the altar, and without uttering a prayer. Not ten boys going to the English schools come to confession during the year . . . ."

No wonder then, that when, on August 5th, 1880, an Irish priest came to Honolulu and offered his services to Bishop Maigret for the establishment of an English college, he was cordially welcomed by that Prelate, albeit the local clergy treated him with suspicion. Father W. J. Larkin arrived from San Francisco with letters of introduction from Bishop Alemany, who, it will appear, hardly knew him. He had exercised the ministry in several dioceses—Queensland and Wellington—in the Colonies, and lately in that of Dunedin in New Zealand, where he is alleged to have been arrested for connection with the Fenian troubles.[45] He was suspended in that diocese by Bishop Moran for making debts and refusal to leave the diocese.[46]

Soon he began to collect funds for the execution of his design, and in the month of October he bought in his own name at a cost of some $10,000 two acres of land on Beretania street, contiguous to the Anglican Mission. Later on he transferred this property to the Catholic Mission, which paid the remaining debts. Shortly afterwards he constructed there a school building, 100 feet long by 60 feet wide, with a 12 foot wide veranda surrounding it on all sides. The height of the schoolroom was 20 feet in the center and 18 feet at the sides and ends, the ceiling being concave in all directions. A Mr. C. J. Wall was the architect.[47]

This strange building, designed for a concert hall rather than for school purposes, was never used, as soon we shall see. In the beginning of 1881, Father Larkin seems to have started teaching in some other building on the premises, for from the first of January of that year appears regularly an advertisement in the local Pacific Commercial Advertiser, called attention to THE COLLEGE OF SAINT LOUIS, and Hawaiian Commercial and Business Academy.

The course of study is said to be "classical, scientific and commercial, Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, and Italian being taught. An Evening School was annexed to the institution, the aim of which was "to afford to all classes of the community the means of acquiring a theoretical and practical knowledge of all commercial and business transactions in daily use."

Father Larkin was assisted by two professors, Messrs. Nichols and Popovich.

45 Letter of F. Herman Koeckemann, Nov. 18, 1880.
46 J. McInerny's letter to Bishop Maigret, May 13, 1881.
47 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Oct. 23, 1880.

When the school was formally opened on January the 20th, twenty-five pupils had their names put on the rolls.[48]

The Fathers of the Mission grew ever more distrustful of this stranger, and their suspicions were strengthened by accusations against the priest's character, which then began to be discussed by the public and in the press.[49] They, moreover, believed that the intruding priest, having circumvented the feeble-minded old Bishop and secured the friendship of the King, aspired to become Vicar Apostolic of Hawaii through the influence of Kalakaua, who, in January had left his kingdom for a tour around the world, and in due time was to visit the Holy See.

To frustrate this scheme, a petition was presented to the Holy Father by the Catholic missionaries through their Superior-General, that a coadjutor from their own ranks be given to the aged Bishop.[50]

This petition was granted before Kalakaua had arrived in the capital of Christendom, and on May 17, 1881, Father Herman Koeckemann was elected Bishop of Olba and coadjutor to Bishop Louis Maigret, wtih right of future succession.

Thus were brought to naught the aspirations of Father Larkin to a mitre, if ever really he entertained them. A deplorable accident which happened three days later, put an end to the priest's career in Hawaii.

On May the 20th, he had obligingly granted the use of the new building to a company of firemen for a social evening. In the early afternoon several persons interested in the affair were in the hall decorating, and Father Larkin had just come in to see what progress had been made with the preparations, when a loud report was heard, and the plaster began to fall. The half a dozen people who were in the inside ran for their lives. Suddenly the whole building came down with a crash, burying beneath its ruins two women and a native boy. The two females were happily rescued, but the boy was killed.

A coroner's verdict pronounced the falling of the building to be the result of carelessness in the construction of the roof, and held both the architect and the president of the college responsible for the death of the boy, David Paahao. On May 30th, the priest appeared before the Court to answer to a charge of manslaughter in the second degree. Meantime, it had been intimated to him that if he chose to leave the Kingdom he would be permitted to do so. He declined to leave with so grave a charge hanging over his head, and pleaded not guilty.[52]

In a subsequent session of the court the jury announced that they had not arrived at a verdict, whereupon the judge discharged them and informed the defendant that he would have to await a new trial.[53] Not being able to furnish bail of $1000, the priest was detained in prison. Bishop Herman obtained for him liberty to leave the country and urged him to accept it.[54] As the Bishop-elect was to proceed on the first of August to receive consecration, Father Larkin made up his mind to accompany him thither. He seems to have died in San Francisco during the month of March, 1906, as a Honolulu paper of April 5th, 1906 speaks of his "recent decease."[55]

48 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Jan. 22, 1881.
49 Hawaiian Gazette, June 1, 1881. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, May 7. June 1, 1881.
50 Letter of F. Herman Koeckemann, March 12, 1881.
52 Pacific Commercial Advertiser, May 28, 1881, June 4, 1881.
53 Ibidem, July 23, 1881.
54 Letter to Superior General, July 31, 1881.
55 Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

CHAPTER XVII.

Father Damien

Introduction and Spread of Leprosy in Hawaii.—Efforts to Repress the Disease. —The Molokai Settlement.—Need of a Priest.—Building of the First Catholic Chapel.— Arrival of F. Damien at Molokai.—Biographical Notes.—First Years of Missionary Life.—His Description of the Settlement and of His Work There.—A Leper.—Assistants, Father Andrew, Father Albert, Father Gregory, Dutton; Sisters; Father Conrardy, Father Wendelin—Last Sickness and Death—Hyde's Letter.—Stevenson's Philippic. —Defects Discussed.—Morality Vindicated—Dutton's Report.—Hyde's Second Letter.— Beissel's Controversy.—Final Vindication by " a Missionary."

It is not known when leprosy was first introduced in the Hawaiian Islands. In April, 1863, Dr. W. Hillebrand, surgeon to the Queen's Hospital at Honolulu, styled it a new disease and called the attention of the Government and the public to its rapid spread. However, as early as 1823, the Rev. Mr. Stewart, one of the Protestant missionaries, writes in his Journal[1]: "Cases of ophtalmic scrofula, and elephantiasis are very common." It seems certain that the Elephantiasis he spoke of was true leprosy.

During the year 1862 Dr. Hillebrand had devoted a wooden house on the hospital grounds to the reception of patients suffering from the loathsome disease; he recommended that the Legislature should devise and carry out some efficient and, at the same time, humane measure, by which the isolation of those effected with the disease could be accomplished.[2]

On the 3d day of January, 1865, King Kamehameha V approved an act to prevent the spread of leprosy in the kingdom, whereby it was enacted that the Minister of the Interior, as President of the Board of Health, was authorized to reserve and set apart any land or portion of land then owned by the Government, for the site or sites of an establishment or establishments to secure the isolation and seclusion of leprous persons. The Board of Health or its agents were authorized by the same law to cause to be confined, in the places for the purpose provided, all leprous patients who were deemed capable of spreading the disease.[3]

The same year the Government acquired a tract of land situated about the center of the north coast of the island of Molokai. This island has an area of 261 square miles, but the portion of land set apart for a leper settlement comprises only approximately ten square miles. It is in the form of a tongue of land, three sides of which are washed by the ocean, whilst a steep and lofty mountain chain some 3,000 feet high, cuts the settlement so entirely from the rest of the island that there is no egress or ingress possible except by boat, or by a narrow trail which crosses the mountain at a height of 2,100 feet. The extreme length of this tongue of land is about two and three quarter miles, whilst the average width is over two miles. There are two villages on this reservation: one, Kalaupapa, on the northwest side at the foot of the mountains, and the other, Kalawao, on the northernmost point of the tongue of land; the distance between these places is about two miles and a half.

The first shipment of lepers arrived at Molokai on January 6, 1866.[4] In a

1 Journal of a Residence on the Sandwich Islands, 1828, p. 148.
2 Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, p. 5.
3 Session Laws, 1864-65, p. 63.
4 Dedication of the Kapiolani Home, 1885, p. 39.

few cases, fathers, mothers, wives and husbands were allowed to accompany their afflicted relatives.[5]

When the lands were purchased on Molokai, it was confidently expected that the first outlay there would be the principal one required, and that the valley of Waikolu, and the surrounding lands, than which no richer can be found throughout the group, would be cheerfully cultivated by the strongest of the lepers, and that, except for clothes and perhaps some animal food, the resources at the disposal of the Board would not be subjected to a regular and constant drain. But a great disappointment was soon experienced in this respect, the terrible disease seeming to cause among the persons afflicted with it as great a change in their moral and mental organization as in their physical constitution. So far from aiding their weaker brethern, the strong took possession of everything, devoured and destroyed the large quantity of food on the lands, and altogether refused to replant anything; indeed, they had no compunction in taking from those who were disabled and the dying the material supplies of clothes and food which were dispensed by the Superintendent for the use of the latter.[6]

The superintendent, a Frenchman by the name of Lepart, who lived in the settlement, informed the Board, in the month of September, 1866, to its great surprise, that supplies must be sent from Honolulu, as the settlement would be able to produce but little from that time forth.

In 1867, the Board of Health erected a hospital at Kalaupapa for the accommodation of those who were in the last stage of leprosy.

One of the most serious troubles on Molokai to the Board and the manager was the difficulty of maintaining order. Drunkenness, pilferings, immorality and general insubordination were very prevalent; ki-root beer was manufactured and drunk in very large quantities, and great orgies took place.

A change for the better was brought about the appointment of a new superintendent, Mr. Walsh, who was at the same time a magistrate for the peninsula, and by the making of constables out of the husbands of diseased women, who received in return for their services the permission to reside with their wives, whilst rations and clothing were issued to them in the same quantities as to the lepers.

A comfortable house was erected about this time for Mr. and Mrs. Walsh, and also a schoolhouse for the children, an instructor for which establishment was generally obtained among the lepers.[7] Also separate sleeping apartments were constructed for the boys and the girls. All these buildings, including the hospital, were inclosed within one fence, and were under the exclusive care of the superintendent and nurse (Mrs. Walsh).[8]

In the hospital, food was prepared for the sufferers, and they got other things, such as rice, a little bread, some tea with sugar, and some milk from the cows which the Board had sent over some time before. Unfortunately, Mr. Walsh and his wife did not understand the Hawaiian tongue, and many of his endeavors to establish rule and order were not understood by the people.[9]

The poor man fell sick and died, and his widow became superintendent; as assistant an old sea captain was sent up, but those two could not agree; neither of them could speak with the people, and matters did not improve.[10]

Anarchy was prevalent, and only a prompt exhibition of authority—the punish-

5 Report Board of Health.
6 Report Board of Health, 1868.
7 Leprosy in Hawaii, p. 60.
8 Report Board of Health, 1868.
9 Appendix to Report on Leprosy, 1886, p. cxxvii.
10 Ibidem.

ment of two ringleaders—and the change of the superintendency to Captain of the Royal Guards Kahoohuli, a leper, brought about satisfactory results.[11]

At the ascension to the throne of King Lunalilo (Jan. 8, 1873), a new Board was appointed which proposed to enforce segregation by more energetic means. Lepers were no longer allowed to take their wives or husbands with them, and visits to the settlement ceased to be permitted. The wants of the lepers were considered, and their weekly rations of meat increased, and they were allowed a greater variety of food. Henceforth, they received five pounds of meat, or, if they wished, three pounds of salmon per week; also one bundle of paiai containing 21 pounds (paiai is pounded baked taro; from it the staple food of the natives, the poi, is made), or, if they preferred, either 10 pounds of rice and 7 pounds of bread and flour, and 5 pounds of salt per month.

A little labor was considered beneficial and even necessary for the lepers, and, to encourage them to cultivate their lands again, they were allowed the choice of receiving the cash value of their weekly supply of food in lieu of the food itself. Many lepers, through this means, accumulated money enough to build houses, and to surround themselves with other comforts.[12]

The difficulty of giving the lepers an annual supply of clothing caused it to be discontinued; and instead of it, a store was established containing every variety of staple goods, to be sold at low prices, only with sufficient advantage to cover the expenses of its management and attendance; and the lepers, instead of receiving clothing, were given credit to the amount of six dollars, for which they could draw at the store what they wished[13].

About the same time the hospital accommodations were increased, and bedsteads furnished to the inmates instead of their being compelled to lie on the floor or mats, as theretofore.[14]

Waterpipes were laid from a spring in the Kalawao gulch to the hospital, with intermediate taps for the use of the people living along the road, which relieved them from the burden of going for water, and carrying it considerable distances, and they also had more water.

Up till the beginning of the year 1873, a total of 797 lepers had been brought to the settlement, of whom 311 had died. Many hundreds more were at large all over the islands. No wonder that in view of the ravages the disease exercised, the public began to show considerable interest in the Molokai settlement. It was suggested in the newspapers[15], that the King should visit Molokai, as it was hoped that this evidence of paternal care for the saddest and most hopeless outcasts of the land, would have a most inspiring effect upon those unhappy people, and upon all others throughout the Kingdom. "And," added the writer, Walter M. Gibson, "if a noble Christian priest, preacher or sister should be inspired to go and sacrifice a life to console these poor wretches, that would be a royal soul to shine forever on a throne reared by human love."

The King did not go, as was suggested, but wrote a letter to the inmates of the settlement. The Hawaiian Gazette, May 14, 1873, under the heading "His Majesty and the Lepers," published this letter and then added: "What they need now are a faithful minister of the Gospel and a physician who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of this unfortunate community."

There were but few Catholics on the island of Molokai outside of the reservation; their number may have amounted to about two hundred, disseminated over

11 Leprosy in Hawaii, p. 59.
12 Reports on Leprosy, 1886, pp. cxxviii, ix.
13 Ibid. p. cxxix.
14 Ibid., p. cxxx.
15 Nuhou, April 15, 1873.

the different valleys at great distance. For this reason, and also on account of the insufficient number of priests, no resident priest had been on the island till that time. Once in a while, a priest from Oahu or Maui went over to Molokai to administer the Sacraments. As the number of lepers increased in the settlement, they went there more frequently. Thus Father Raymond remained for several weeks in the year 1871 and 1872; about the same time Father Aubert made also frequent visits to the settlement, and even offered to take up his permanent abode among the lepers. In March, 1873, Father Boniface came to the Leper Settlement to allow the inmates to make their Easter duties; he had the pleasure of giving Holy Communion to ninety of them.[16]

Before 1872, Catholics had no churches on the island; services were held in provisory chapels made of grass. In this year, they asked for a more decent chapel. A wooden chapel was made by Bro. Victorin Bertrant at Honolulu, and erected by him at Kalawao. It was blessed by Father Raymond on May 30, 1872, and dedicated to St. Philomena.[17]

After Father Raymond had again left on June 10, the Catholics frequently gathered in their little chapel to recite the rosary and other prayers. But what they needed much more than a church was a resident priest to console them in their sufferings, and principally to assist them in the hour of death. The time had come to fill this want.

On the 4th of May, 1873, at the dedication of a church at Wailuku, Maui, many Fathers had come together there from various points of the group, to greet their venerable Bishop. Among those present were Fathers McGinnis, Damien, Boniface, Gulstan, Gregory, Lauter, and Leonore.[18] At this occasion, His Lordship expressed a wish that some one should go to make a visit to the Catholics of Molokai.[19] Father Damien offered himself, and as his offer was accepted by the Bishop, accompanied him on his way home. They embarked on the S. S. Kilauea, and arrived at the landing of Kalaupapa on the 10th of May at 11 o'clock in the morning. The intention was that Father Damien should stay in the settlement for two or three weeks, and then return to his district.[20] But during the few hours of the Bishop's stay, the lepers prepared and presented a petition signed by 200 persons, asking the Prelate for a resident priest. Mgr. Maigret did not make any decision. Says he in his journal: "They ask me for a priest who can remain habitually with them; but where to find one?"

However, Mr. Gibson, hearing of the incident on the Bishop's return to Honolulu, thought that it was the fulfillment of the wish he had uttered a few weeks before, and wrote in the "Nuhou": (May 13, 1873)

CHRISTIAN HERO

We have often said, that the poor outcast lepers of Molokai, without pastor or physician, afforded an opportunity for the exercise of a noble Christian heroism, and we are happy to say that the hero has been found. When the Kilauea touched at Kalawao last Saturday, Monseigneur Maigret and Father Damien, a Belgian priest, went ashore. The venerable Bishop addressed the lepers with many comforting words, and introduced to them the good father, who had volunteered to live with them and for them. Father Damien formed this resolution at the time, and was left ashore among the lepers without a home or a change of clothing except such as the lepers offer. We care not what this man's theology may be, he is surely a Christian Hero. and three days later:

We hope His Majesty will remember the good priest who has gone voluntarily

16 Tauvel, p. 75.
17 Bro. Bertrant's Diary, Jan. 12-June 22, 1872.
18 Maigret's Diary, May, 1873.
19 Letter of F. Damien, August, 1873, in Tauvel, p. 80.
20 Maigret's Diary, May 10, 1873. Letter of F. Damien, Aug., 1873, Arch. Motherhouse.

to minister unto His Majesty's afflicted people on Molokai. If this is not a "faithful minister of the Gospel," we don't think he is to be found in these islands.[12]

It was thus generally understood by the public that Father Damien had gone to the settlement to stay, and much praise was given him in the newspapers and on the street. Admiration took sometimes a substantial form, as we see from a notice in the Advertiser, May 24, 1873.

A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION. Last Sunday several gentlemen happened to be conversing on the fact of Father Damien having volunteered to live among the lepers on Molokai, when one of the party suggested the making up of a subscription for the benefit of the Father. This was done on the spot, amounting to $130 and subsequently handed to Bishop Maigret. His Lordship thanked the donors in eloquent words, for this evidence of their Christian charity, and assured them that the sum would be gratefully acknowledged by Father Damien, who was at present living in the open air, under a lauhala tree . . . . . ."

As meanwhile, Father Damien had written to his Provincial offering to remain permanently among the lepers, the Bishop decided to let him have his desire.

For the better understanding of the attacks against the generous priest after his death, we must mention here an outburst of jealousy from some bigots, who seemed to consider the act of the Catholic priest and the laudations given him, as so many unfavorable reflexions on their own ministers.

Several communications in the Hawaiian Gazette and in the Advertiser betray some spite and jaundice. They were certainly not the expression of the feelings of the Protestant community at large.

An "Observer" in the Gazette of May 21, after having said that Bishop Maigret had appointed Father Damien to stay in the settlement, continued:

"Our Protestant friends have not been negligent on their part. For years the Rev. L. Smith, D.D., has officiated at the Leper Hospital at Kalihi, often administering the communion to those adhering to his belief. A deacon of Kaumakapili church is among the lepers on Molokai, and holds regularly services among them, as I have been informed. For years up to December last, the Hawaiian Board has subscribed for 20 copies of the Kuokoa to be distributed gratis among the lepers, and at present the Board of Health does the same. At the next meeting of the Evangelical Association this subject will doubtless be fully considered, and something done to provide stated preaching at Kalaupapa."

And in another column of the same paper we read:

" . . . . . .So, too, the Mormons have their elder, Mr. J. H. Napela, who holds regular services among those of his faith. He is not a leper, though his wife is, and his devotion is certainly as praiseworthy as that of Father Damien. (sic) The Protestants have been represented by a deacon of one of the Honolulu churches, a leper who had held religious services at Kalawao for over a year past; but this is no reason why a clergyman may not be employed there."

In the Advertiser of May 24, a "Friend of the Hawaiian race," pointed out that the Protestants have had at the settlement a church named "Siloama" for years, as well as an Hawaiian pastor who officiated at the church of Kalawao in connection with the church of Kaluaaha.

This contributor had probably never been on Molokai, or he would have known that a minister, residing at Kaluaaha on the southeast side of island, could but rarely go to the settlement, as the communications between those places were extremely difficult.

Finally came some one, signing himself "Kokua," who in the Advertiser of

21 Nuhou of May 16.

May 31, after having expatiated on the services rendered by the Rev. Mr. Smith to the lepers at the Kalihi Branch Hospital, wound up with a pithy eulogy on the Protestant missionaries:

"It has been and will continue to be the work of their lives to administer to the suffering bodies as well as to the minds of the people, and they have never thought that their labors needed special laudations. *It was what they came here to do*, and in their humble way they have endeavored to follow in the footsteps of their Lord, who went about on earth 'healing all manner of sickness and disease among the people.'"

As the "Observer" has spoken of the coming meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, we give here an extract of the resolutions taken by that body in regard to the leper question, in their meeting of June 10, 1873.

"Resolved that every pastor and preacher of the Association be instructed to preach frequently to his people upon the duty of isolating their lepers . . . . . and that a day be set apart, as a day of fasting and of repentance before God, for our sins and especially of those sins which promote the spread of the disease, and also a prayer to God to strengthen the King and the officers of the Government in cleansing the land of this disease, and to turn the hearts of the people to help in this work of saving the nation."[22]

Father Damien (Joseph) De Veuster was born on January 3, 1840 at Tremeloo, a village situated not far from Mechlin, Belgium. When he was seventeen years of age, his parents, pious and well-to-do farmers, sent him to a little college at Braine-le-Comte, principally in view of his studying the French language. It was a rather inferior institution; the buildings are yet in existence; they are situated on the Rue Basse, opposite the present Motherhouse of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, and are occupied by the Cercle Catholique. In a letter which the youth wrote to his parents during his stay there, we find an expression which already bears witness to one of the salient features of his character: his quick temper. "Any Walloons that laugh at me, I hit with a ruler."[23]

While he was in his eighteenth year and still at this school, the Redemptorist Fathers gave a Mission which Joseph attended. It was at this time that the call to a higher life came to him. From that time his whole soul longed to put his resolution to serve God in the religious state into immediate execution. Having an elder brother, Father Pamphile, who was studying for the priesthood in the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts at Louvain, he resolved to ask him for advice. The result of their consultation was that Joseph should enter his brother's Congregation as a choir brother.[24] He actually entered the convent as a postulant in January, 1859.

The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts was originally made up of three classes: priests and students for the priesthood, choir brothers and laybrothers. The choirbrothers had to recite daily the canonical office,—whence their name,—and they were employed as teachers in the free schools. They could not, as a rule, be promoted to the priesthood; however, the Superior-General could under certain circumstances dispense from this rule. At the General Chapter of 1903, this class was abolished.

Once safely lodged within the convent walls, Brother Damien immediately set himself with ardor to perform the duties of his class. While employed in the discharge of these duties, he had many occasions of conferring with his elder

22 Hawaiian Gazette, June 18, 1873.
23 Life and Letters, p. 22.
24 Tauvel, p. 16.

brother, who was engaged in his theological studies. Noticing the extraordinary ability his brother possessed, and the wonderful knack he had of picking up all kinds of useful knowledge, Pamphile began to teach him a few disjointed words in Latin, which the youth eagerly treasured up in his memory. Father Pamphile had only begun in joke, but wishing perhaps to encourage him in the pursuit of knowledge, he continued his quasi-lessons, so that in a very short time, Damien was master of a good many sentences, besides the knowledge of most of the elementary rules of syntax. The postulant threw his whole heart into his new study, and within six months he was so far acquainted and familiar with the Latin language that he was able to translate at sight any part of Cornelius Nepos quite fluently.[25]

By this time his superiors had got to know of his great ability for study, and consequently they allowed him to begin his novitiate as an aspirant for the priesthood.

After a sojourn of eighteen months at Louvain, Brother Damien was sent to Issy, near Paris, to finish his novitiate there, as was then customary. On October 8, 1860, he pronounced his vows. After his profession, he remained at Paris, and as we learn from a letter to his parents dated January 16, 1861, studied Greek and Latin.

In October of that same year, he was sent back to Louvain to pursue there at the "cursus minor" of the University, his ecclesiastical studies. In 1863, when Damien was yet in minor orders, his brother Pamphile, then a priest, was ordered by his superiors to prepare for an early departure to the Hawaiian Islands. Father Pamphile had long been desirous of being sent to this mission, and he received the news with great joy. But just as he had made the necessary preparations for the voyage, and had secured a passage in a vessel bound for those shores, he was laid down by an attack of typhoid fever. To his bitter disappointment, he was thus unable to go.

His brother Damien, however, went to the sick man's bedside, and inquired whether it would be a consolation to him if he should go in his place. On receiving an eager answer in the affirmative, he resolved to make an instant application for the appointment. He wrote at once to the Superior-General, asking him for his brother's place, begging him "not to throw away the passage money." His request was granted. Brother Damien sailed from Bremerhaven on October 31, 1863, and arrived at Honolulu on March 19, of the following year. There he was ordained by Bishop Maigret successively to subdeacon on March 26, to deacon on April 17, and to the priesthood on May 21.[26]

This summary shows that both Father Damien's humaniora and his ecclesiastical studies were sadly lacking in completeness. He may have made up for their shortness by his undoubted assiduity; he seems, however, to have been wanting in that soundness of judgment, which makes up for much theoretical deficiency.[27]

It is but just to state here that these good-enough-for-the-mission methods of study, which were at that time rather in vogue, on account perhaps of the scarcity of personnel and the needs of the missions, have fortunately long since been abandoned by the authorities of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts. The regular course of studies: 7 years humaniora, at least one year novitiate, 2 years philosophy and 4 years theology, is no longer dispensed with.

Father Damien and his traveling companion, Father Clement, embarked in company with their Bishop for the island of Hawaii on June the 7th. There

25 Life and Letters, pp. 31, 32.
26 Life and Letters, ch. II; Tauvel, ch. II.
27 Letter of Mgr. Hermann, Sept. 19, 1888. A. M.-H.

the new priests were to make their debut in missionary life. They made a short stay on Maui, and Father Damien, being absent at the moment of the Bishop's departure, rejoined the latter at Hilo on the 23rd of July.[28] A few days later the district of Puna was entrusted to his care.

Father Damien gives the following account of his mission. "For seven years there has been no resident priest there. It was only in passing that some priest or other could visit the Christians, and he would have very little time to instruct catechumens. Before leaving, the Bishop told me that I must remember that the mission was quite in its infancy. Indeed, I found no church in which to say Mass, but two are now in course of construction. With nothing more than a portable altar that I have with me, I sometimes say Mass in a native hut where the Christians are accustomed to assemble on Sunday for prayers. I find sheep everywhere, but many of them are still outside the fold. Calvinism has drawn many into its nets. However, the news of a priest for Puna has made them think about religion, and on my first round our Lord gave me twenty-nine to regenerate in the holy waters of Baptism, whilst others are preparing to receive it."[29]

Throughout his missionary life, Father Damien was a great "baptist." This would have been very praiseworthy, indeed, had he required a sound religious instruction of his catechumens. But it is evident from the anecdotes about him, which are told among the Fathers even now, and from his own letters[30] that the zeal he thus displayed was rather a misguided one, doubtless a consequence of his imperfect studies and his lack of judgment.

The number of Catholics in the vast district of Puna did not exceed 350 at the time Father Damien was put in charge of it. Many of the faithful had left the fold, the schools were reduced almost to nothing, and the Catholic children frequented the Protestant schools. However, through the active zeal of the new missionary, the wandering sheep returned to the fold, the schools revived, and new catechumens came to strengthen the number of the faithful.[31]

In March, 1865, Father Damien changed districts with Father Clement, who had been in charge of Kohala and Hamakua, but had suffered much from the remoteness from his fellow-priests and whose weak constitution could not stand the strain of such an extensive field of labor.[32] They had obtained permission to make the exchange from Mgr. Maigret.[33] Father Damien remained in charge of this new district, which offered a large field for his burning zeal, until he put his foot on the landing of Kalaupapa, and even then, as we have seen, it was the intention of his superiors that he should return to Kohala after a short stay of two or three weeks. His place in Kohala was taken by a Father Fabian who had arrived shortly before, and whom we shall have to mention again afterwards.

Father Damien gives the following description of the settlement at the time of his arrival, in an official report which he addressed to the President of the Board of Health in March, 1886.

By a special providence of Our Lord who, during his life showed a particular sympathy for the lepers, my way was traced to Kalawao in May, A. D. 1873. I was then 33 years of age, enjoying a robust, good health,—Lunalilo being at that time King of the Hawaiian Islands and His Excellency E. O. Hall, President of the Board of Health.

A great many lepers had arrived lately from the different islands; they numbered

28 Maigret's Diary.
29 Life and Letters, p. 59, 60.
30 Tauvel, pp. 62, 89. Life and Letters, pp. 60, 63, 79, 94.
31 Relatio Vic. Apost. Ins. Sandw. ad S. C. P. F. Dec., 1864.
32 Letter of F. Clement, Nov. 16, 1864. A. C. M.
33 Letter of F. Damien, Oct. 23, 1865.

816. Some of them were old acquaintances of mine from Hawaii, where I was previously stationed as a missionary priest; to the majority I was a stranger.

The Kalaupapa landing was at that time a somewhat deserted village of three or four wooden cottages and a few old grass houses. The lepers were allowed to go there only on the days when a vessel arrived; they were all living at Kalawao—about eighty of them in the hospital—in the same buildings we see there today. All the other lepers with a very few kokuas (helpers) had taken their abode further up towards the valley. They had cut down the old pandanus or puhala groves, to build their houses, though a great many had nothing but branches of castor oil trees with which to construct their small shelters. These frail frames were covered with ki-leaves (Dracaena terminalis), or with sugar cane leaves,—the best ones with pili grass. I myself was sheltered during several weeks under the single pandanus tree which is preserved up to the present in the church yard. Under such primitive roofs were living pell-mell, without distinction of age or sex, old or new cases, all more or less strangers to one another, those unfortunate outcasts of society. They passed their time with playing cards, hula, (native dances), drinking fermented ki-root beer, home made alcohol, and with the sequel of all this. Their clothes were far from being clean and decent on account of the scarcity of water, which had to be brought at that time from a great distance.

The smell of their filth, mixed with exhalation of their sores, was simply disgusting and unbearable to a newcomer. Many a time in fulfilling my priestly duty at their domiciles, I have been compelled not only to close my nostrils, but to run outside to breathe the fresh air. To protect my legs from a peculiar itching which I usually experienced every evening after my visiting them, I had to beg a friend of mine to send me a pair of heavy boots. As an antidote to counteract the bad smell, I made myself accustomed to the use of tobacco, whereupon the smell of the pipe preserved me somewhat from carrying in my clothes the obnoxious odor of the lepers. At that time the progress of the disease was fearful, and the rate of mortality very high." . . . . . .

In previous years, having nothing but small, damp huts, nearly the whole of the lepers were prostrated on their beds, covered with scabs and ugly sores, and had the appearance of very weak, broken-down constitutions. In the year 1874 the great question was—how to improve the habitations of the unfortunate people, the Government appropriation being at that time barely enough to provide them with food.

During that winter a heavy south wind blew down the majority of their half rotten abodes, and many a weak leper lay there in the wind and rain, with his blanket and clothes damp and wet. In a few days the old grass beneath their sleeping mats began to emit a very unpleasant vapor. I at once called the attention of our sympathizing agent to the fact and very soon there arrived several schooner loads of scantling to build solid frames with. All lepers who were in distress received, on application, the necessary material for the erection of frames, with one inch square laths to thatch the grass or sugar cane leaves to. Afterwards rough N. W. boards arrived, and also the old material of the former Kalihi hospital. From private and charitable sources we received shingles and flooring. Those who had a little money hired their own carpenters; for those without means the priest with his leper boys, did the work of erecting a good many small houses. Besides some newcomers who had means built their dwellings at their own expense."

Further in the same report he discusses the morality of the settlement.

"I feel myself obliged to beg leave of Your Excellency to be allowed to speak of a very serious matter, in which I officially appear as one of the principal agents. To avoid criticism I will with a liberal mind lay aside as much as possible all difference of opinion, and show how needful a step has been taken for the temporal and eternal welfare of our lepers by drawing a parallel between the past and present, and between those who yield and do not yield to moral training.

Previous to my arrival here it was acknowledged and spoken of in the public papers as well as in private letters, that the greatest want of the lepers at Kalawao then was not having a spiritual leader or priest, the consequence of which was that vice, as a general rule, existed instead of virtue, and degradation of the lowest type went ahead as a leader in the community. On the arrival of a new number of lepers, the old ones were soon at work to impress them with the erroneous axiom: "Aole kanawai ma keia wahi"—in this place there is no law. Not only in

private conversation, but in public meetings I myself heard this doctrine proclaimed; and for a long time, indeed, I was obliged to fight against its application being made to the Divine law as well as the human law. In consequence of this impious theory, the people, mostly unmarried, or separated on account of the disease, were living promiscuously without distinction of sex, and many an unfortunate woman had to become a prostitute to obtain friends who would take care of her, and the children, when well and strong, were used as servants. When once the disease prostrated them, such women and children were cast out, and had to find some other shelter; sometimes they were laid behind a stone wall, and left there to die, and at other times a hired hand would carry them to the hospital. The so much praised "aloha" of the natives was entirely lacking here, at least in this respect.

As already mentioned in other pages, the Hawaiian hula was organized after the pagan fashion, under the protection of the old deity Laka, who had his numerous altars and sacrifices and I candidly confess that I had hard work to annihilate Laka's religion and worship, and thereby to put a stop to the hula and its bad consequences. Though the people had reached the climax of despair both of soul and body, may it be said to their honor, that I had found them less addicted to sorcery and the doings of the "kahuna lapaau" or native doctors, than I had found the old natives of Hawaii—circumstances which encouraged me much to stay permanently among them, with the quasi-certain hope of my ultimate success as a Catholic priest.

By a short digression, I will here speak of another source of immorality, viz. the evil effects of intoxication. I first have to explain how they have obtained the material. There grows very abundantly along the foot of the mountains a plant which the natives call "ki" (*Dracaena terminalis*), the root of which, when cooked, fermented and distilled, gives a highly intoxicating liquid. The process of distilling being very crude and imperfect, produces, naturally enough, a liquor which is totally unfit for drinking. A short time after my arrival the distilling of this horrible liquid was carried on to a great extent. Those natives who fell under the influence of it would forget all decency, and run about in a nude condition, acting as if they were totally mad. The consequences can be easier imagined than written on paper. The local authorities have endeavored to stop all those horrible proceedings, but for a long time they were unsuccessful. It being discovered that certain members of our police were in league with the evil-doers, the "luna-nui" and myself went round, and both by threats and persuasion, they finally delivered up their implements which were used for distilling; some of the most guilty perpetrators were convicted, but were pardoned under the condition never to do it again.

For a long time, as above stated, under the influence of this pernicious liquor, they would neglect everything else, except the hula, prostitution and drinking. As they had no spiritual adviser, they would hasten along the road to complete ruin. A good many of the sick and prostrate were left lying there to take care of themselves, and several of them died for want of assistance, whilst those who should have given a helping hand were going around seeking enjoyment of the most pernicious and immoral kind.

As there were so many dying people, my priestly duty towards them often gave me the opportunity to visit them at their domiciles, and although my exhortations were especially addressed to the prostrated, often they would fall on the ears of public sinners, who, little by little, became conscious of the consequence of their wicked lives, and began to reform, and thus with the hope in a merciful Saviour, gave up their bad habits.

Kindness to all, charity to the needy, a sympathizing hand to the sufferers and the dying, in conjunction with a solid religious instruction to my listeners, have been my constant means to introduce moral habits among the lepers. One of the great moral improvements which helped to do away with licentiousness was the granting of inter-marriage licenses between lepers who were not prevented from marriage by a previous marriage tie, and many a couple are today living at the settlement in a decent manner.

I am happy to say, that, assisted by the local administration, my labors here, which seemed to be almost vain at the beginning, have thanks to a kind Providence, been greatly crowned with success, as, at present there are very little, if any at all, of the above mentioned evils committed."

It is not our intention to give here a full account of Father Damien's activity in and outside the settlement. Further details may be looked for in some of the works indicated at the end of this chapter. The principal end Father Damien

had in view in taking up his residence among the lepers, was of course, to attend to their spiritual wants. This he did not only by visiting them in their huts and administering to them the Sacraments in the hour of death, but by the religious services which he was wont to celebrate with as much pomp as circumstances allowed, and by his earnest and constant preaching. This perhaps more than anything else contributed to make the poor outcasts contented with their sort.

Although the duties of the ministry took up a good deal of his time,—which needs no demonstration, when we consider that during the fifteen years of his stay, there were as an average 700 patients in the settlement, nearly half of whom were Catholics,—he was continually at the service of the unfortunate inmates, whatever might be their religious belief, in a variety of capacities.

For a time he was assistant-superintendent of the settlement. This was during the year 1878, after the death of Ragsdale. But as his spiritual duties necessarily engrossed the larger portion of his attention, the Board of Health thought better to appoint another in his place.[34]

As an infirmarian Father Damien contributed greatly to alleviate the sufferings of the lepers. For many years after the establishment of the leper reservation, there was no resident physician in the place. Later on doctors resided there for longer or shorter periods, but even then the people preferred to be without them.[35] Moreover, they complained that the visits of the physicians were so short and their work so hurried that no practical advantage was derived from them.[36]

In the same year of Father Damien's arrival, a white man, Mr. Williamson, himself a leper, who had been employed as an assistant to the doctors in the Kalihi hospital, and had quite a practical knowledge of medicine, was put in charge of the hospital. He attended to the patients in this institution, whilst Father Damien largely attended to those living outside.[37] As late as 1884 Dr. Stallard reports that there is "no one but Father Damien who renders any help."[38] The same physician speaks of the priest as removing the foot of a leper which had sloughed off at the ankle joint.[39] This was, however, no exceptional case; daily he dressed the sores of the lepers and amputated their members. That his services in this regard were not unsuccessful, we may deduce from a passage from the report of Mr. Meyers, for many years superintendent of the settlement. "In former years, before even doctors resided at the settlement, a stock of simple medicines was kept on hand constantly, and if any of the lepers got sick, these simple drugs were given out to them either by the hospital steward, the Superintendent or kind Father Damien; and I assert that they got over all their troubles, disorders, or otherwise curable diseases, quite as well as they did after the advent of resident physicians, nor was the death rate higher."[40]

At times Father Damien employed a leprous cook[41]; with his leprous boys he helped the inmates of the settlement in constructing their dwellings, and he freely handled the tools which a moment before had been touched by the sore hands of the lepers;[42] when visiting the people he took his turn when the pipe passed from mouth to mouth and he ate poi out of the family calabash, according to the Hawaiian custom.[43] He bathed the wounds of the lepers, and applied plasters

34 Report of the Special Committee 1878, quoted in Leprosy in Hawaii, p. 87.
35 Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 115, 146.
36 Appendix to the Report on Leprosy, 1886, p. ix.
37 Leprosy in Hawaii, p. cxxiii.
38 Report B. H. 1884, p. xliii.
39 Ibidem, p. xliv.
40 Report B. H. 1884, p. xvi.
41 Father Matthias' Report, Dec. 1, 1888.
42 James Sinnett, in Catholic Advocate, March 18, 1891.
43 George Woods, M. D., in the Rosary Magazine, 1897, p. 633.

o their aching limbs, swept their cells, and brought them food and drink[44] He ttended them when dying, breathed their atmosphere, cleansed their dead bodies, nd helped to dig their graves.[45]

Such close association with the sufferers, before the health reforms which he elped the Board to establish, was necessarily fatal. The story of Father Damien's leprosy is contained in a diagnostic report made by Mr. Dutton on March 10, 1889, at the request of Dr. Morrow of New York. This report was ead to the priest and approved by him as correct.

TUBERCULAR

Kalawao, Molokai.

Rev. Father J. Damien De Veuster, Catholic priest, native of Belgium, Belgian arents, 40 years of age. All of the members of his family very strong and healthy. Jo taint of scrofula or syphilis. No relatives on these islands. Served as priest on he island of Hawaii from 1864 till 1873. Occasionally heard confessions of lepers, inistered to them in their cabins sometimes, but had no constant or very particular ontact with them until he came here, to the leper settlement, in 1873; since which ime, until now, his contact and association have been almost constant. In 1873 was trong and healthy, with remarkable robust constitution. Has never had any sexual ntercourse whatever.

Is quite sure that when near to lepers, as at confession or in their cabins,—before oming to the leper settlement,—he felt on such occasion a peculiar sensation in the ace; a sort of itching or burning, and that he felt the same here, at the settlement, uring the first two, or three years; that he also felt it on the legs. Is confident that he germs were in his system, certainly within the first three years of his residence ere; can trace it back positively to 1876. Small dry spots appeared at that time, par- icularly on arms, some on back. On these spots perspiration did not appear, as else- vhere. Upon treatment with corrosive sublimate lotion they would disappear, but eturn again. Finally, in 1877 and 1878, assumed yellowish color and became larger. n 1877 he took salsaparilla, as blood purifier, when the spots became more defined, till yellow; would remain until lotion was applied.

This describes the first marks, but earlier still there was a suspicious movement. His feet had a peculiar sensation; were hot and feverish; made him restless—he could ot sleep without first giving them a cold water soak; nor without doing this, could e keep them covered at night. This was in 1874 and 5. He continued to enjoy trength and health.

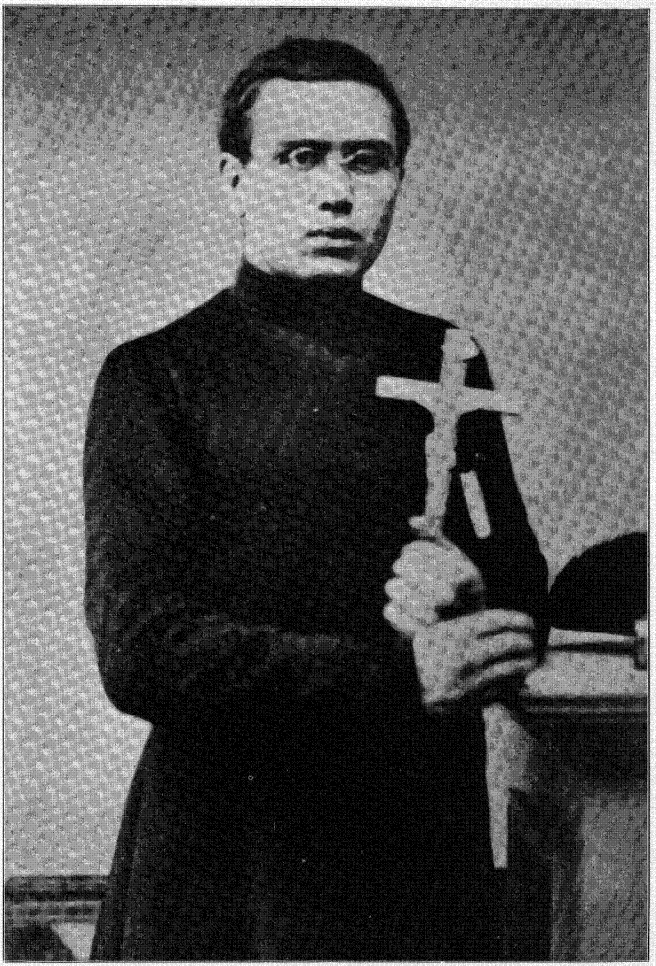
In 1881 was vaccinated, at the time of the smallpox epidemic in Honolulu. The peration was performed by one deputized by Board of Health, who said the vaccine natter came from America. In some degree the operation was successful. During a few days he had some fever, and there was inflammation at the point of vaccina- ion, on a space about the size of a silver dollar, some matter flowing therefrom. In connection with this note, it is well to state that the natives, and some others, have a firm belief that leprosy was greatly spread throughout the islands by the process of vaccination, at this time, and perhaps at other times.

In the autumn of 1881 he began to be badly troubled with severe pains in the feet, especially in the left one, and in 1882, sciatic nerve trouble came on, clearly defined all along the left leg.

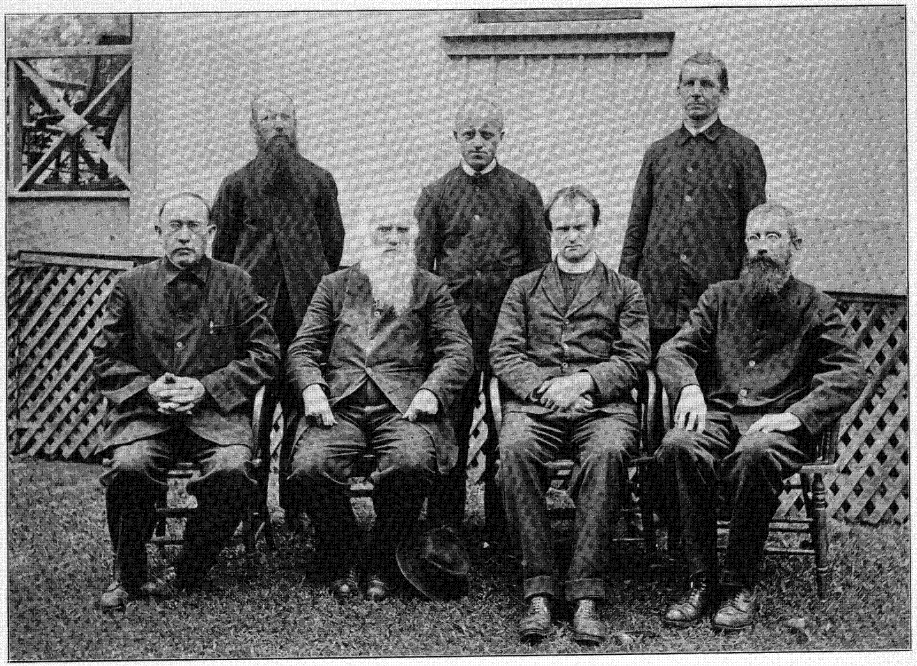
At the close of 1882, or early in 1883, entire insensibility of one side of the left foot took place, and so remains until this day—the *outside* portion of the foot—Father Damien being able to draw a line marking the division of the sensible from the insen- sible portion of his foot. This is the only part of his body that has been so attacked. The pain of sciatic nerve, and of the *inside* portion of the foot was intense, and almost constant, accompanied by the formation of nodes in the left groin. All these pains disappeared, at once, about June 1885.

Then the right ear became swollen, with tubercular enlargements, making the whole thing an immense affair. At the same time began the disfigurement of his person in a general and marked manner. The eye brows began to fall out, the other ear became enlarged, and tubercular swellings took possession of the face, hands, &c. The knuckles and knees are in hard enlarged knobs, becoming suppurating sores.

44 James Sinnett, Catholic Advocate, March 18, 1891.
45 Clifford, in the Catholic American, December 21, 1889.



FATHER DAMIEN DE VEUSTER, APOSTLE OF THE LEPERS



PRIESTS AND BROTHERS OF THE SACRED HEARTS AT THE MOLOKAI LEPER SETTLEMENT

Many sores on hands and wrists—some about the neck; eyes weak and at times very much inflamed. His nose was greatly obstructed, causing much distress during the past two years, appearing as catarrah, the bridge of nose much sunken. The foot that was partly insensible, was, for a long time, exceedingly weak. Now, since the disease has spread over the body, it becomes strong again.

Correct:

(Signed) J. Damien De Veuster.
Catholic Priest.

Mr. Dutton in sending a copy of these notes to the Bishop of Olba, accompanied them with the following remarks concerning the declaration that Father Damien had never any sexual intercourse whatever.

"Regarding the remark that Father Damien had never any sexual intercourse whatever, I would state, that Father Damien made it of his own motion, not from any question nor remark of mine, so far as I know. There was not any one present save Father Damien and myself. Why he made this statement (the absolute truth of which I, of course, never doubted), was not exactly apparent to me. Idle remarks had been made against Father Damien's chastity, but I never knew of any responsible source whatever, or that any one well acquainted with Father Damien had any belief in the tale. It might be that he suspected some one would take it up, and make use of it after his death, which in fact did occur.

"In verifying these notes, I make the above explanation in respect to Father Damien's memory."

The last years of Father Damien's life were considerably embittered by his ecclesiastical superiors, who appear to have been jealous of the popularity of their inferior. Their correspondence with the poor leper priest in the years 1886 and 1887 is saturated with acrimony, and one wonders what misconduct may have provoked such evident hostility.

The good Father had been used to pay occasional visits to Honolulu, chiefly for the sake of going to confession. Towards the end of 1885 his religious superiors forbade him yet to come to the capital. Father Damien remonstrated with the Vicar Apostolic against this measure which seemed tyrannical to him, since his health and the civil authorities allowed him to circulate. (Letter of Dec. 30, 1885.)

On February 8, 1886, Father Leonore again addressed him an extremely rude letter. He writes: . . . . . "There is again a rumor that you are going to come to Honolulu. It is *my duty,* very dear Father, again to make known to you the decisions taken by the provincial council, and not by me. Have patience. If you come to Honolulu, there are but two places to go to: the Mission or Kakaako. At the Mission you will be confined to a room which you will not leave until your departure; otherwise you would quarantine the Mission, for the White people knowing that we keep a leper here, would be afraid even of us who are not lepers. Going to Kakaako, you would be in the chapel of the lepers, without saying Mass; for neither Father Clement nor myself will consent celebrating Mass with the same chalice and the same vestments which you have used; and the Sisters will refuse to receive Communion from your hands. Your pretensions, Dear Father, would show that you have neither delicacy nor charity towards your neighbors, and that you are thinking only of yourself. It is too much selfishness altogether, and I like to believe that all these feelings are neither in your heart nor in your head. Mr. Gibson has told you that he will allow you to come, but that he would have to see the Bishop first. Now he wanted to see him in order to prevent these visits, the consequences of which especially for Kakaako I see plainly. I know it from his own mouth. . . . ."

June 5, 1886, Dr. A. Mouritz, the resident physician of the settlement wrote

to the Bishop of Olba, to suggest the desirability of Father Damien's proceeding to Kakaako for treatment, as his leprosy was making rapid progress. His Lordship must have written to the priest about the doctor's suggestion, for on June 16, the good Father writes: "Last year when I noticed that the sickness broke out at my ear, I have expressed a wish to have a little room in the yard of Kakaako, to pass a few days, whenever the needs of my conscience or some other reason would oblige me to go to Honolulu. Having not the slightest confidence in our European doctors to stop the progress of this terrible sickness, I wished then ardently to consult Dr. Goto, but out of prudence, not to give offense to our savants, I'll keep this wish in my heart. The absolute refusal expressed in the voice of a policeman rather than of a religious superior, and that in the name of the Bishop and of the Minister, as if the Mission was going to be quarantined if I ever showed myself at Honolulu, gave me more pain, I sincerely acknowledge, than I have endured from my childhood on. I have answered by an act of absolute submission by virtue of my vow of obedience. . . . . Lately I was surprised to hear from Mr. Meyer, Dr. Mouritz and Father Columbia (James Beissel) that there is question of calling me to Kakaako. This news has caused alarm to the entire settlement, especially to our good Christians and to my orphans. As priest and Bishop your Lordship understands why. An absence of two weeks would be all right, but of two till six months, that will never do, never, My Lord, unless some one takes my place. . . ."

Finally on July 10, according to Brother Bertrant's journal, Father Damien arrived at Honolulu, where he remained only a few days, for eleven days later he writes again from Kalawao. He did not like to remain idle in Kakaako, and having learned all about the carrying out of Dr. Goto's treatment, would establish his own bathhouse at Kalawao, and another for the boys and girls of his home.

Dr. Goto's treatment seemed just then very successful at Honolulu and great expectations were entertained with regard to the cure of leprosy. Hopefully Father Damien returned to his post, and for a time experienced some improvement, as we see from a letter written to his brother, Father Pamphile, in the beginning of August, 1886: "My malady seems to yield somewhat to the Japanese treatment, which I have been under for the last five weeks."

But soon again his leprosy rapidly advanced with remarkable severity. (Cf. Dr. A. Mouritz, Path of the Destroyer, p. 240 and following.)

A fresh cause of friction with the ecclesiastical authority arose when in the beginning of the following year, the Father received from British sympathizers the sum of 975 pounds for the needs of his lepers.

The previously given diagnostic report covers the long period during which Father Damien, notwithstanding the awful disease which was slowly but surely undermining his constitution, was perfectly able to fulfil his various duties. However, he himself as well as his superiors foresaw that the moment in which the progress of the disease would doom him to impotence, was not far distant.

At several times priests had been sent to the settlement to lighten his arduous task. In the beginning of February 1874, Father Andrew Burgerman was sent to Molokai in order to look after the spiritual needs of the Catholics living outside of the settlement. During that year this Father stayed four months in the reservation, whilst Father Damien built a chapel at Kaluaaha, at the other side of mountain range. Afterwards Father Andrew paid occasional visits to his confrater of the settlement until he took up a permanent residence there, at the village of Kalaupapa towards the middle of 1878,[46] where he remained in charge

46 Life and Letters, pp. 119, 120.

till the end of July 1880. Father Damien repeatedly complained about him as being too independent; both being hot tempered, their relations were at times far from pleasant.

Another assistant was given Father Damien in the person of Father Albert Montiton, who arrived at the settlement September 8, 1881. He remained till March 20, 1885[47] and left Honolulu for Tahiti on the 15th of April of the same year. He was a very active but quarrelsome man who cared not to remain long in one place. He died at Miranda, Spain, February 25, 1893. Misunderstandings and susceptibilities were frequent between him and his companion during his stay on Molokai, as we may see from their correspondence. Withal Father Damien professed a great attachment for the man who for almost four years had been continually nagging at him, and regretted his departure.[48]

November 16, 1887, Father Gregory Archambaut came to the settlement. He was a leper, but suffering also from asthma, could not stand the climate of Molokai. He left for Kakaako in March 1888, and died there November 12 of the same year.

A layman, Mr. Joseph (Ira) Dutton, had joined Father Damien since July 29, 1886. He was an erstwhile investigating agent in the U. S. War Department, and a convert to the Catholic religion. He had come to Molokai, as he said himself, in an "idea of reparation . . . . to help my neighbor, and to fill out the primitive church penance, in the penitentiary, a very happy one for this ragged remnant of life."[49]

Other helpers long prayed for by Father Damien now rushed to the rescue. On November 14, 1888, three Franciscan Sisters: Mother Marianne, Sister Leopoldina and Sister Vincent landed at Kalaupapa, where they took charge of the leprous girls.

Seven of these good Sisters, whose motherhouse is at Syracuse, N. Y., had arrived at the request of the Hawaiian Government on November 9, 1883.[50] Four of them including the Mother Superior, were then put in charge of the branch hospital at Kakaako, and the three remaining ones of the new Malulani Hospital at Wailuku, Maui. Father Damien called their arrival at Molokai his "Nunc dimittis."

But however valuable these heroic Sisters were for the nursing and the education of the lepers, they could not assist Father Damien in his spiritual ministrations. Here also the prayers of the priest found a gracious hearing. For over twelve years he had been in correspondence with a countrymen of his, Father Lambert Conrardy, a missionary among the Indians of Oregon, who, having heard of Father Damien's sacrifice, was desirous of sharing it. The fulfilment of this wish had been postponed for many years for various reasons. Not belonging to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, the priest had applied to the Bishop of Olba, for admission in his vicariate in order to aid Father Damien. The Bishop consented, but wished him first to enter into one of the novitiates of the Order in Europe. This Father Damien thought unnecessary, and to the great annoyance of the Bishop, insisted that Father Conrardy should come over immediately. This was in 1888.[51] Father Conrardy answered the call of his friend, and having obtained the Bishop's permission, very reluctantly given, arrived in the settlement May 17, 1888.

The Bishop had good reasons for hesitating to accept a priest not of his

47 Evidence documentaire, p. 31, 32.
48 Evidence Documentaire, pp. 18-32.
49 Letter to Father James Beissel, A. C. M. Hon. M. 71.
50 Report B. H. 1884, p. 9.
51 Letter of Bishop Herman, May 7, 1888; Arch. C. M. Hon.

Order in the vicariate; the Mission had had considerable trouble in the past with perambulating secular priests. But the other Fathers also objected to the going of Father Conrardy to Molokai. They resented the intrusion of a stranger, as it was bound to cause an impression that they themselves were unwilling to aid their failing confrere, and minister to the lepers. The Bishop well knew the excellent spirit which animated his priests; only their restricted number had prevented him from giving a successor to Father Gregory. When one of the Fathers expressed his dissatisfaction with the course the Vicar-Apostolic had taken by admitting Father Conrardy, the Bishop addressed a circular letter to his missionaries, asking who would be willing to take up his residence among the unfortunate exiles of the Molokai peninsula.[52]

Only one of the priests did not answer the Bishop's circular letter; all the others declared themselves at his disposal; three expressed a strong inclination to go to the settlement, whilst one, Father Wendelin Moeller, who was in charge of the district of Koolau, Oahu, replied simply: "My answer is in my Rules," alluding to art. 241 of the Rules of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts which says: "By the vow of obedience the professed religious engage themselves to do what the superior commands, and not to do anything he forbids."

Father Wendelin, being known as a sober-minded, cool-headed and devoted man, got the appointment. He arrived at the settlement six days after the Franciscan Sisters, and was stationed at Kalaupapa, whilst Fathers Damien and Conrardy remained at Kalawao.

Up till the beginning of March 1889, Father Damien could go about with his accustomed activity. The ninth of that month sores formed at his knuckles, which prevented him from saying Mass. However, he soon got better and could do his wonted work, until he got ill again on the 23d. From that day on his state grew worse, and he felt that the end was approaching.

On the 30th he made a general confession and renewed his vows in the hands of Father Wendelin. The next day Father Conrardy administered Holy Viaticum to him, and Extreme Unction one or two days later. For several days he alternately improved and grew worse, until on April 13 all hope of prolonging his life was abandoned. He lost consciousness during the night of Palm Sunday, and died on the 15th of April, 1889, at about 8 o'clock in the morning. Mr. James Sinnett, an Irish gentleman, who had come to Molokai for the express purpose of nursing the heroic priest in his last sickness, and had been with him for eight months, assisted him in his last hours, together with Father Conrardy.[53]

Scarcely was the death of the poor priest announced in the United States and in Europe, when a universal chorus of praise resounded in his honor, exalting him as a martyr of charity, and pointing him out as one more precious pearl in the already radiating crown of sanctity which circles the brow of Holy Mother the Church.

Whilst thus for several months the press of the world glorified the man who for Christ's sake had laid down his life for the wounded and disfigured sheep of His Master, an obscure Presbyterian clergyman of Riverside, California, was nursing an acute attack of Anti-Papism. The blaze of glory which surrounded the "Romanist" priest, hurt his eyes, and anxious to gather some filth wherewith to contaminate and mar that offensive splendor, he wrote to a congenially disposed colleague at Honolulu. The Hawaiian clergyman, Dr. C. M. Hyde, felt

52 Letter of Bishop Herman, May 7, 1888, Arch. C. M. Hon.
53 Father Wendelin's Diary; James Sinnett's letter, Clifford, Life of Father Damien, p. 120.

rather inclined to aid his Californian friend in this matter, and under date of August the 2d, 1889 penned the following libel to his "dear Brother," the Rev. H. B. Gage.

In answer to your inquiries about Father Damien, I can only reply that we who knew the man are surprised at the extravagant newspaper laudations, as if he were a most saintly philanthropist. The simple truth is, he was a coarse, dirty man, headstrong and bigoted. He was not sent to Molokai, but went there without orders, did not stay at the leper settlement, (before he became one himself) but circulated freely over the whole island (less than half the island is devoted to the lepers,) and he came often to Honolulu; he had no hand in the reforms and improvements inaugurated which were the work of our Board of Health, as occasion required and means were provided. He was not a pure man in his relations with women, and the the leprosy of which he died should be attributed to his vices and carelessness. Others have done much for the lepers, our own ministers, the Government physicians, and so forth, but never with the Catholic idea of meriting eternal life.

Yours, etc.

C. M. HYDE.

This letter was widely published in the Protestant press, and was the signal for an outburst of slander and scurrility against the memory of the deceased priest.

Thoughtful men were justly shocked at Hyde's defamatory words, unaccompanied as they were by a pretense of justification, when their import demanded conclusive evidence. A host of distinguished admirers took up the cudgel for the Hero of Molokai. Foremost among them was Robert L. Stevenson. During the novelist's visit to Hawaii the year before, he had visited the leper settlement, and had learned much about Father Damien and his work, and like most men the world over, Stevenson held the priest and his labors for the lepers of Hawaii in the highest esteem.

Whilst in Sydney he came upon Dr. Hyde's charges against Father Damien, and overflowing with righteous indignation, he hurled his famous Damien Letter.

It is no doubt a brilliant plea, and a "matchless piece of scorn and invective." It was, however, defective in so far as it makes admissions which were unwarranted. He himself calls Father Damien "shrewd, ignorant and bigoted." We have no interest in hiding Father Damien's defects. Who is the man, yea, the Saint, who is altogether exempt from them? His ways were not accommodating; his character rather vehement; he was obstinate, through open to conviction. Bishop Herman said that he was lacking in humility, obedience and charity.[54] These imputations are mainly made on account of the Conrardy affair, but we may well excuse Father Damien,—and those who knew both sides of the affair, did excuse him,—for forcing the hand of his bishop, in order to obtain an assistant priest in the settlement.[55] He rushed, perhaps, too much into print, but it was not for self-glorification, but in order to interest the world at large in his poor lepers; he himself would have preferred to have remained unknown.[56] He was often impatient with others, because giving his life for the lepers, he unreasonably wished that all others should also have the settlement and its unfortunate inhabitants foremost in their thoughts and endeavors.

He was not shrewd, at least not in the archaic, unfavorable sense of cunning, in which Stevenson seems to take the word. He was too blunt, too outspoken, to be shrewd.

Calling him *ignorant,* is only relatively saying the truth. For a *priest,* he *was*

54 Letter of December 13, 1889, to Sup. Gen.-Gen. Arch. Motherhouse.
55 Cf. Letter of Father Matthias C. Limburg, and the correspondence anent the Conrardy affair, Arch. M. H.
56 Cf. Clifford, pp. 64, 92; Tauvel, p. 79, Engl. Edit.

ignorant, his studies, as we have seen, having been far from adequate. But it is rather difficult to call a man ignorant who speaks fluently three languages: Flemish, French and Hawaiian, and has moreover a fair acquaintance with English, Portuguese, Latin and Greek, and who for several years has applied himself to liberal studies.

Father Damien was not intolerant of the religious opinions of others, and consequently can not be called a bigot in the unfavorable acceptation of that word. "He always showed a true and wholesome charity while he dealt with views which he considered erroneous," says Clifford.[57] He certainly was a very zealous missionary, desirous of gaining all mankind to Jesus Christ. If this be considered a defect, it will not hinder Damien's canonization.

It was said by Dr. Hyde, and it has been admitted by Stevenson and others that Father Damien was a *dirty* man. This is hardly a term to apply to one who habitually bathed. The charge can, however, be sustained by pointing to his spotted cassock, which could scarcely be kept unsoiled by one who frequently labored with his hands, and had to enter continually the filthy huts of the lepers. Speaking of Damien's dirtiness, Mr. Sinnett says: "I have seen Damien covered with dust and perspiration . . . . as he toiled among the lepers at manual work beneath a tropical sky, or as he dragged himself from one death bed to another, or bound up the open sores of some poor diseased leper. But, surely, that was hardly a fault; rather perhaps the mark of heroic deeds. As well might you condemn the victorious blood-stained warrior." . . . . . "This accusation," continues the man who received Father Damien's last sighs, "reminds one of Shakespeare's words in Henry IV:[58]

> But I remember, when the fight was done,
> When I was dry with rage, and extreme toil,
> Breathless and faint, leaning upon my sword,
> Came there a certain lord, neat, trimly dress'd,
> Fresh as a bridegroom; and his chin, new reap'd.
> Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest home.
> He was perfumed like a milliner,
> And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held
> A pouncet box, which ever and anon
> He gave his nose, and took't away again;
> Who, therewith angry, when it next came there,
> Took in it snuff; and still he smiled and talked.
> And, as the soldiers bore dead bodies by,
> He called them untaught knaves, unmannerly,
> To bring a slovenly unhandsome corpse
> Betwixt the wind and his nobility.

But Dr. Hyde has smirched Father Damien's name by a more serious and even less founded accusation. Stevenson has taken the liberty of "supposing" the story to be true, forgetting the axiom of law: Nemo malus nisi probetur, the story of his having broken his priestly vows by immoral intercourse with women.

Now Father Damien has plainly declared shortly before his death, that he never had any sexual intercourse in his life, and this word, given so to say, on the borders of the grave, ought to be sufficient guarantee of his innocence. Already before his death, in 1887, slanderous gossip concerning Father Damien did the rounds, and the Board of Health instituted a thorough inquiry in the matter. The officer of the Board who conducted the inquiry, Mr. Reynolds, thus reports: "I never hard from any one in the settlement that he (Father Damien) had been immoral or licentious in any way; for had he ever made a slip in his conduct in that mixed community, which included representatives from the

57 Father Damien, p. 98.
58 Sinnett in Catholic Advocate, March 18, 1891. He has condensed the quotation, which is from Henry IV, 1st part, 1st Act, 3d Scene. I give it in its entirety.

various sects of religion in the islands, or if there had been anything of the kind hinted at there, it would have been commented upon, and in my official position, I could have easily elicited such condemning testimony, had it been in existence."[59]

Corroborating this testimony of Mr. Reynolds, comes the sworn report of Mr. Dutton, who lived nearly three years with Father Damien in the greatest intimacy, and than whom few could know better what was going on in the settlement.

Dutton's Report on Father Damien.

Catholic Mission,
Leper Settlement,
Kalawao, Molokai,
Sandwich Islands,
February 12, 1890.

To His Lordship
Bishop Herman,
Honolulu, H. I.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

The Reverend Father Matthias and Wendelin have recently informed me that they were directed by you to make an examination here regarding the life of the late Father *Damien De Veuster*, his virtues and characteristics, his relations with the work at the leper settlement and with the officials of the Hawaiian Government, etc., making report of the examination, embodying therein my statement in these matters.

After we had all made the same a subject of prayer for three days, Fathers Matthias and Wendelin met with me, and they took some notes of what I had to say in regard to the things in view. But afterwards they concluded to hold their report to enable me to make my statement in writing, giving it somewhat more scope than first intended.

Since the return to Honolulu of the Rev. Father Matthias, Rev. Father Wendelin has suggested that I should address the statement to you, making it complete,—not only speaking of things undoubtedly favorable in Father Damien's character and relations here, but also embracing points, in which any disparaging statements have been made—so far as I know, and particularly to point out the part taken by the Hawaiian Government in the management of affairs of the leper settlement.[60]

All this I will strive faithfully to do, but giving the statement rather in outline form, than making an attempt to relate many particulars.

As directed by the Fathers I first state regarding myself, that I came here from the United States to work with Father Damien, arriving at Kalawao the evening of July 29th, 1886. And from that evening until his death—April 15, 1889,—I was intimately associated with him in his work among the people, particularly with his orphan boys, and in having the care of his two churches (of only one church, though, in the latter part), in serving his masses, and in assisting about his various ministrations, so far as a lay man could. Though in this last I was somewhat restricted after the summer of 1887, being from that time principally occupied in dressing sores, and in the care of the sick orphans. But my place of work was close by his house, and for about half the time I ate with him at his table. Several priests had been with him at different times before I came, but there was no one with him at that time, nor was there any other white person belonging to the Mission, until May 1888.

Regarding Father Damien will speak first of his zeal and earnestness. For these were the traits which first impressed me, and which seemed with him always prominent.

He had a great natural strength and vitality. These powers coupled with his zeal, seemed to enable him to be ever ready to pursue with vigor whatever seemed to him ought to be done.

In everything that concerned the welfare of the place here and of the people, he was always alive and pushing, in fact often taking an active interest in affairs of which others—government officials, &c., had charge. There were but few things done here of which he did not have some knowledge. His advice was frequently asked in matters outside of his own duties, by government officials and others.

He was not restricted, as the priests are now, to ordinary parish duties, but actually took a hand in various affairs going on for the improvement of the place.

59 Arthur Johnstone; R. L. Stevenson in the Pacific, pp. 84, 85. Cf. the whole fifth chapter.

60 We omit the details concerning the part taken by the Hawaiian Government in the management of the affairs of the leper settlement, as being too lengthy, and foreign to the subject, the same having been indicated moreover sufficiently in the present chapter.

Doing with his own hands more or less of nearly every sort of work, in both parishes, more especially carpenter work; but was able to turn his hand to almost anything.

When there was—or when there was not—a government physician here, he kept a supply of drugs, and prescribed for many of the sick. Quite a number of the natives would call for him in preference to the regular physician. This treatment of the sick he continued in quite a general way, until the Summer of 1887, when he turned the drugs over to me, and I kept them for use at the mission-home, under the direction of the physician. Father Damien got the most of his drugs from the physician, some of them were purchased by the mission. In replenishing the supply I have always obtained from the Government, either from the physician or directly from Honolulu.

As to Father Damien's relations with these physicians, it somewhat depended upon who the physician was. Some were satisfied for him to practice as he did; others—one in particular—opposed it. He discontinued partly on account of this opposition.

Up to the summer of 1887, Father Damien also dressed leper sores from time to time, and gained considerable knowledge of this, and also in the use of medicines generally. All of these occupations, however, were very much broken into by other duties, and therefore not prosecuted with any particular regularity. His method was to drive ahead at what he deemed the most important, until something else seemed more so, when he would jump over into that, so that he left a track of unfinished jobs, though a certain share would be completed. It seemed sometimes that he tried to do more than one person could expect to finish.

He was very hospitable. He made a practice of meeting the weekly steamer at Kalaupapa, for the purpose of greeting any newly arrived lepers, or visitors there might be. For a long time the steamer arrived very early in the morning, and, in order to reach the landing in time, he used to say his Mass on those mornings at about four o'clock. So he was among the foremost in meeting any passengers that were being landed. If there were any lepers who could not at the moment be provided with quarters, he was sure to bring them to the mission here, if any would come, and have them cared for until they were regularly located.

The assistant superintendent who had charge of all those matters permitted this. Young boys so arriving were generally placed at the Mission, in the institution Father Damien was trying to build up. About the beginning of 1888, this institution having become somewhat systematized, the placing there of all young boys who were not with their parents or with some near relative, was regularly authorized by the Government. Larger boys and men also, who desired or could be induced, were placed in the same way, under Father Damien's care . . .

In the first part of the construction of the Boys' Home, Father Damien did a good deal of the work with his own hands. Later the Government put up larger and better buildings, including a very neat one for the Sisters. The Government paid the main expense of all; Father Damien added some on Mission account in the earlier part.

In the latter portion of the period in which Father Damien cared for the "institution" then merging into the "Boys" Home proper, he was paid by the Government a monthly salary for the care of it. And Father Damien once told me that he was employed by the Government as assistant-superintendent of the settlement for a while before I came here, there having been generally some one, a member of the Settlement so employed. Since I am here there has always been one. Until just recently, a half-white, a leper, has held the place. Now a gentleman from one of the other islands, a white non-leper, has been engaged and sent here for the purpose . . . .

Father Damien never was properly in charge of any of the governmental affairs of the settlement; only as stated above.

He supplied some extras for the inmates of the "institution," at the mission, also to many lepers outside, but of this I will speak further on . . . .

The assistance that Father Damien gave to the inmates of his institution, and the others, those outside, to the people generally, was referred to above. By this is meant such help as went towards their provision or support. It consisted in giving help generally in special needs. Where a family had in it some kokuas—helpers—not drawing rations, the family thus being short of supplies, or a family thus short through waste or neglect, some of the few whites or others needing some kind of food, etc., etc.

The expenses for what he thus gave were paid by the Catholic Mission. So it was quite the practice among the people to come to Father Damien for any special aid required. Yet some would not come to him at all; some Protestants, and at time, some Catholics; those persons with whom he had had difficulties. Though these people easily forgot what they deemed at the time harsh treatment, and in most cases

would return to Father Damien in their next distress, to again ask his aid, there were some who did not do so. There were some too, who often came for aid, but who, when not in Father Damien's presence, would abuse him most shamefully. No matter what might have occurred in the past, if Father Damien could give the help asked for, he was pretty sure to give it.

He was at times very vehement and excitable in regard to matters that did not seem to him right, or, if opposed by anyone, if he was satisfied his judgment was correct, sometimes doing and saying things which he would afterwards regret. But he had the faculty in a remarkable degree of putting resentment aside. Very soon after a heated altercation he would be towards the opponent as if no such thing had happened, seeming to have forgotten the matter. Only, if there was anything to be done in a certain way, he was not likely to rest until it was carried out in that way.

Probably I am safe in saying that in all of these differences he had a true desire to do right, to bring about what he thought to be for the best. No doubt he erred sometimes in judgment, as all of us do.

These things stated, his relations with the Government officials will be more readily understood. With some they were better than with others; with all better at some times than at other times. In certain periods he got along smoothly with every one. And at all times, he was urgent for improvements, or what he thought would be such.

The carrying out of some things done by the Government was facilitated by his action. In other cases it made confusion, as the different authorities would not always agree with him. Will add that I believe his efforts for the people here for material improvement, to have been on the whole beneficial for the place. In spiritual matters there is no doubt but he did great good.

The question of his purity has been brought up in the public prints. In this I can merely state my firm belief that he was wholly devoid of sensuality during the time I knew him.

Will introduce here something repugnant *apropos*. Leprosy in its course shows some freaks in this regard. I have taken some pains to investigate the same for the information of a well known medical gentleman in New York. The effects upon sensual passions appear differently in the different stages. Without going into the various particulars, I will state that, what Father Damien told me about himself, in that regard, seems to hold good in many cases of his type. And what he said was this. That for several years (of the latter part of his life) he felt no tendency towards sensual excitement. He volunteered this, and his conversation led me to infer that in the earlier years here on the islands he had to resist such movements. In going over the country, it was sometimes necessary to stop over night with some native family. He told me that one night, when in one of these huts, a young native woman being about to sleep near him, he left the house and staid outdoors. It never occurred to me to question his life long adherence to virtue in this regard at least. He seemed while I knew him to have no thought for such things, no thoughts tending to sensuality. And this condition in my opinion, was the cause of their being certain reports, or gossip, indulged in by some people. The charges on this point, published since his death, are not new ones."

In a letter, dated December 31st, 1881, Father Damien writes to Bishop Herman: "Moreover for my good name's sake, which Fathers Regis and Albert have questioned (De plus pour l'honneur de ma réputation mise en soupçon par le P. Régis et Albert), I like good Father Albert to watch me from nearby and not from a distance. (Je tiens à ce qu le bon Père Albert me soit un témoin oculaire et pas un témoin à distance.) On his arrival here (Sept. 1st, 1881) he spoke to me on three consecutive days, as if I had entertained evil relations with a woman. He said that he had heard it reported either on Hawaii or in Koolau. The rumors here spoken of are probably the identical ones which Dr. C. M. Hyde later revived. How they originated will be shown a few pages further.

"I heard the same things," continues Mr. Dutton, "at least some of them, here, whilst he was living. That is, I was informed of them. But the parties so informing, intelligent men, always asserted their belief that Father Damien was innocent of the charge, except in so far as he gave (apparently unwittingly) a ground for suspicion

by his want of caution, in allowing women to be about his house, etc. These things myself I could not help seeing. Yet I never saw, what would have caused me to suspect that there was something wrong, unless in appearance.

"Coupled with the above charge, as published, was one to the effect that he was unclean in his personal habits. Of this I can not say so much in denial. When visitors were here he used to keep in presentable appearance. But ordinarily he paid hardly any attention to the cleanliness of his person, or to his dress. Did not pretend to neatness in his personal belongings. Has told me that he considered this a defect. Was very simple in his bodily wants, and was quite able to subsist upon the coarsest fare."

"As to his obedience, it is of course a subject for his superiors.

Father Damien had in his heart, when tranquil, not moved by excitement or by some absorbing purpose, a most tender feeling, as I often have been made to know. Yet you will bear me out in stating the fact, that no one found it pleasant at all times to be with him for a very long period. If my intimate association with him was longer continued than that of others, it was partly because I admitted my own faults in that regard, and partly because I ever saw him place in me the most entire confidence, and have in his heart a deep love, no matter what his exterior might be. And also, I used to be quite open with him in speaking of all these things; he likewise to me, and this seemed to give confidence in each other."

"He would wish the whole truth to be told, and if he had the selection of the one to speak of his last few years here, he would, I think, certainly select me. I do not speak thus in boast, but rather to show the depth of our love for each other."

"In truth, Father Damien, was in many ways, a good priest, a good man. And I am glad to have by your direction, the opportunity of describing him precisely as I knew him, perhaps not precisely as he has been pictured by some pious souls, but by a description in which you will recognize Father Damien as he was, you who knew him so much longer than I, though not so intimately during the years of which I speak."

"Father Damien was very devout, and in his tranquil moments seemed to take a supernatural view of things, I may say, of almost everything. His meditation in the morning was generally of about an hour's duration, and he had a regular practice of making a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, at night before going to bed. He offered the Holy Sacrifice long after he seemed to have become unable to do so, and recited his office nearly to the last, for some time after being dispensed, and while his one eye was hardly able to see. The sight of one eye was ruined, he told me, in childhood. He had to use many devices towards the end, to be able to see at all with the other. For nearly a year it often gave him great pain. It seems to me that the recitation of his office under the circumstances, showed marked heroism. His devotion had many ways of showing itself in his last days; reciting the rosary, every evening asking for spiritual reading, etc."

"His love for these people of the leper settlement,—for all of them—was great. He gave himself freely for them. A sudden call of charity—one in distress—would cause him to drop at once what he might be engaged upon (except when at the altar), and quickly to give his aid.

In his ministrations with the natives he was untiring. Especially in attendance upon the dying was he earnest and helpful. So frequently being with him in this office, I was particularly impressed with it, and often thought that he must have been a great comfort to many souls in these moments."

"When he felt that his end was approaching, and having quite a number of pieces of unfinished work on hand, about the new church, etc., he strained every nerve and muscle to get them completed. I am sure that those engaged upon the work, all who noted his efforts in those last weeks, will join me in asserting the belief, that by these extra exertions he considerably hastened his end."

" . . . Fathers Wendelin and Matthias informed me that I might be called upon to qualify by oath in this matter. And I am ready to declare that the things stated as fact are in fact true, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that the things given as hear-say, were so understood by me, and in matters of opinion I have shown my reasons for the opinions or at least aimed to do so.

You are of course at liberty to make what use you think best of this statement. But I believe it to be my right to hold, that if any of it is used for any purpose, it all ought to be without mutilation."

"Good Father Damien, may he rest in peace, and may all of our acts in this and every other matter be done solely for the Glory of God!"

Very truly and respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUTTON.

A jury inclined beforehand to consider Father Damien guilty of the charge of immorality brought forth against him, might perhaps not be dissuaded by Dutton's testimony, especially when seeing the priest's own confrēres entertaining and expressing suspicions in this regard. But fortunately for the saintly hero's reputation, the source from which all those accusations arose has been providentially discovered, and it has been shown, that *if* some one sinned, it was not Father *Damien.*

One might have expected that after Stevenson in his philippic had exposed Dr. Hyde to public scorn, the reverend gentleman would have published some data on which his charge of immorality was founded. In fact, after he had kept silent for a year, and had had a plenty of time to verify his charges, he wrote a letter to the Congregationalist, in which paper it was published on August 7th, 1890. In it he declared that he had "no desire to withdraw or modify any statement formerly made." Then, commenting on Stevenson's admission that Father Damien was a man of the peasant class, shrewd, ignorant, bigoted, rough in his ways, he said: "I submit that such testimony from such a source, confirming what I have said of Father Damien, is presumptive proof that I had equally good reason for saying what else I said in regard to him."

Such are all the proofs which Hyde could produce to sustain so enormous an accusation. Only one thing more he had to add: "Before going to Molokai, he (Damien) had charge of two other parishes, where it is believed he contracted the disease, and left behind him an unsavory reputation."

Now. in 1905, the question of Father Damien's morality was reopened through an article in the Boston Transcript of May the 20th, occasioned by a new edition of Stevenson's Damien Letter. The article of the Boston Transcript was republished in the Advertiser of Honolulu, June 10th, 1905, whereupon Father James Beissel, at that time provincial of the Mission, asked that the mudslingers should produce facts to substantiate their charges. A controversy followed on the question whether and why Stevenson repented of having written his famous letter. This caused Mr. E. C. Bond, a gentleman from Kohala, to come to the fore with the following contribution:

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Editor Advertiser: It is disgusting to see revived at this late day, an old story that profitably should have been laid to rest forever with the bones of the two reverend gentlemen with whom it was concerned. And why "James C. Beissel" or any one else should wish to resurrect and start it on another dust raising through the press the world over, may well be asked. As I understand the incident thus revived, *it was merely a case of mistaken identity* very easily accounted for. Father Damien's predecessor in this district did create a scandal by alleged immorality, which presumably was the cause of his removal shortly afterward. How long Father Damien remained here, the records of the Catholic Mission in Honolulu will doubtless be able to state with greater accuracy than I. My impression is that it was but a few months before he undertook his mission to the leper settlement.

From having presumably no personal acquaintance with the two priests, these changes that took place so near together, may easily and evidently did become the source of mistaken identity in the mind of Dr. Hyde, who himself wrote to me for information, which might explain the unwittingly erroneous statements which he certainly regretted. It is my impression that afterward he published something in the nature of an explanation, although I have no recollection of ever having seen the fore-

going in print. There is no reason whatever for attributing that unfortunate misstatement that arose from mistaken identity, to malicious sectarian animosity, and it is to be sincerely hoped that whosoever reads these lines will register this explanation in his mental consciousness along with the severe criticisms which the original story has called forth, and let it suffice to suppress any restive impulse to discuss the question further. If Mr. Beissel and his friends are willing to believe that a Protestant may be admitted to the same heaven as a Roman Catholic hereafter, they may rest assured that the two personalities herein discussed, have long since made their peace with one another.

E. C. BOND.[61]

Kohala, June 16, 1905.

In addition the same gentleman wrote in the Advertiser of August 20th a note to correct an error of his preceding letter, and stating that instead of "Father Damien's predecessor" should be read "Father Damien's successor;" and again "As an aside it may interest you to know that I myself labored for a time under the impression that Father Damien was the man who raised a scandal by immoralities in this district. I left the islands for a time immediately after the occurrence and in course of time forgot the details and got the identity mixed when Father Damien's misfortune became known. Perhaps the guilty man's name was Fabien, but probably your church records will tell the whole story. He was here but a short time. E. C. B.

This statement of Mr. Bond was correct. Early in 1880, Father Fabien, who after Father Damien's departure in 1873 had been in charge of the district of Kohala, was accused of immorality, but the courts of Waimea nolleprossed the case. He was professor at the college of Ahuimanu from February 1880 till August 20th, when he left the Islands.

Later on yet, when Father Beissel in a reply had expressed a supposition that his correspondent was the man who confirmed Dr. Hyde in his false impressions, Mr. Bond answered in the Advertiser of September the 17th.

In justice to myself, will you permit me to say that Mr. James Beissel's accusation of me in your Sunday issues of August 20th and 27th, as having been Dr. Hyde's informer in the Damien affair, was entirely unwarranted. The more natural and correct deduction from my letters in the Gazette of June 20th, and Sunday Advertiser of August 20th, would have been, not that I gave Dr. Hyde incorrect information, but that *when he wrote to me to know what was wrong with his statement concerning Father Damien, which had been disputed, my answer was that he got the wrong man.*"

About this time, Dr. Hyde also wrote for information anent Father Damien's morality to Mr. Meyer, the superintendent of the Molokai settlement, but did not get better consolation there either.[62]

And nevertheless Dr. Hyde wrote to the public "that he had no desire to withdraw or to modify any statement he had formerly made . . ."

The erstwhile Hawaiian missionary died without having had the moral courage to retract an accusation, which made perhaps in good faith, he knew later to be unfounded. We deplore for his own sake that he had not even the "desire to do so."*

Thanks to Mr. E. C. Bond, the son of another Protestant missionary. Father Damien's honor was finally vindicated, and he may go down in his-

61 The italics are ours.

62 F. Wendelin Moeller; cf. Meyer's Letter to F. Wendelin, February 27, 1892; H. J. Glade's letter, February 25, 1892.

* This is the more to be regretted as, according to Dr. Mouritz, an impartial and outspoken witness, Mr. Hyde was "scholarly, polished, and refined, of a placid and calm disposition, did not amass wealth, worked among the poor to whom he opened his purse, giving them freely of his means." (Path of the Destroyer, p. 288.)

tory not only "sans reproche," but surrounded with the aureole of sanctity. His defects were many, but they were imperfections of character rather than of the will; of frailty rather than of malice. They were those a multitude of which are covered by charity, and a heroic charity none can deny him whom the world has acclaimed the "Hero of Charity;" because *"greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends."*[63]

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63 Jo. XV, 13.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Episcopates of Bishop Herman Koeckemann and Bishop Gulstan Ropert

Consecration of Bishop Herman.—Death of Bishop Louis.—Portuguese in Hawaii.—An Apostate under the Shadow of his Bushel.—Portuguese Immigration.—Padre Fernandes.—Missions to the Portuguese.—The New St. Louis College.—Arrival of the Brothers of Mary.—Government Subsidies.—The Schoolquestion Again.—Demise of the Bishop of Olba.—His Successor Bishop Gulstan.—Missions to the English Speaking Population.—Condemnation of Secret Societies.—Catholic Societies.—Brothers Infirmarians for the Lepers.—Father Wendelin and the Board of Health.—Schools.—Sickness and Death of the Bishop of Panopolis.

BERNARD KOECKEMANN was born January 10, 1828 at Ostbeveren, Westphalia, Germany. At the age of fourteen he was sent by his father who was a farmer to the "Gymnasium" of Munster. Studious and mentally well endowed, he made brilliant progress in classical studies. During his seven years of college, his progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French, in philosophy and science had been so marked, that at the graduation his examiners dispensed with oral examination as superfluous.[1]

Believing himself called to religious life, and not finding in Germany the facilities for embracing it, he went to Belgium where at Louvain he entered into the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts. After a novitiate of eighteen months, he was admitted to religious profession on the 11th of April, 1851. In religion he took the name of Herman, by which he has been known since. After three years of theological studies he was sent by his superiors to the Hawaiian mission, where he arrived November 13, 1854. His brilliant qualities determined Bishop Maigret to keep the young priest at Honolulu. He was charged to look more especially after the English speaking members of the Church, and was not long in acquiring a very creditable knowledge of the English tongue.

Having received the episcopal consecration at San Francisco on August 21, 1881, he hastened back to the Mission. Although merely coadjutor to Bishop Maigret, and directed "only to interfere in the administration of the vicariate as far as the actual incumbent willed and allowed it," he felt prompted by the latter's occasional weak-mindedness and feeble health, to seize at once the reins of government.[2]

The health of the venerable titulary declined gradually, and he finally succumbed to the ravages of old age on June 11, 1882. His mortal remains were put to rest in the sanctuary of the cathedral of Our Lady of Peace, behind the throne which during thirty-five years he had adorned with his many virtues.[3] Bishop Maigret was one of the Fathers of the Vatican Council.

THE PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION. Already in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Portuguese, principally whalers, had begun to visit the Islands, many of whom settled here. Dr. João Elliott de Castro, who was on

1 Zeugniss der Reife, August 30, 1849.
2 Letters to Sup. Gen. October 21, 1881; November 16, 1881. Arch. M. H.
3 Although Canon Law did then not allow vicars apostolic to erect a throne in their cathedrals, Bishop Maigret had mistakingly done so. His successor asked and obtained the privilege of continuing using the throne.—Rescript of July 20, 1882.

the group in 1814, and arrived again with Kotzebue in 1816, was the physician of Kamehameha I, and probably saved the Russian expedition from utter destruction.[4] In the sixties they formed a considerable part of the white population, in 1867 their number at Honolulu being estimated at 200. Some of them must have been well-to-do, as the cost of building the chapel of St. Patrick at Halawa, Oahu, was almost entirely defrayed by one of them.[5] However, a traitor was found among them. José Manuel, a colored sailor from Cape Verde, turned Protestant, and was forthwith made a licensed preacher. He was sent to Ewa, where a colony of Portuguese negroes was established at the time, and allotted a salary of $20 a month. Neither then nor later had he any success among his countrymen. In September of the same year he was transferred to Kaneohe, as pastor of a native church, and although in the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association it was resolved that

"Whereas there were many Portuguese all over the group, and whereas the Lord had suscitated in the Rev. J. Manuel, a missionary for that nation; therefore was it resolved, to be the opinion of the assembly that it was not right to put his light under the bushel of Kaneohe; but as there were plenty of Hawaiian pastors who could fill that place, the Hawaiian Board was instructed to appoint the Rev. J. Manuel a missionary to the Portuguese all around the Islands."

nevertheless he remained for many years quietly under his bushel, leaving it only to go to the capital for the purpose of peddling fish; in the many years of his apostolate he does not seem to have perverted a single son of Portugal, either white or black.[6]

In 1878 the little streamlet of Portuguese immigration began to grow into a large, ever widening stream. That year the ship Priscilla brought a load of 114 men, women, and children. Since then hardly a year has passed which did not see one or several vessels bringing hundreds of immigrants from Madeira and the Azores. Up to the middle of 1926 not less than 27,870 Portuguese have thus found new and better homes in Hawaii. They are a thrifty and well behaving people, and by far the best immigrants who have ever been brought to these shores. They are moreover a prolific race, families with a dozen children being by no means rare. As nearly all of them have either modest bank-accounts or landed property, or both, and continue to improve their financial and social situation, they are a striking and living argument against the detrimental theories of Malthus.

For the Catholic priests it was an easy matter to learn their language, so similar to Latin and French. Hence many of them were able to converse in Portuguese as early as 1883,[7] some already in the preceding year, whilst Father Damien was in this regard ahead of all of them, for in the Spring of 1868 he asked for Portuguese and Spanish books, saying that already he began to speak those languages a bit.[8] At present all the missionaries are familiar with it.

The Protestant missionaries now once more thought of spreading their errors among these faithful sons of the Catholic Church, for in the Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association for 1884 we read: "We have not yet succeeded in finding the right person to undertake Evangelical work among the Portuguese, but yet hope to find one." (p. 14.)

On November 15, 1889, a Portuguese priest arrived at Honolulu, who was

4 A Voyage of Discovery, Von Kotzebue, London, 1821, vol. I, pp. 289, 292.
5 This chapel was dedicated March 17, 1860. Some other Portuguese and some Irish also contributed.—Letter of Bishop Maigret, April 2, 1860.
6 Letter of Father Herman Koeckemann, December 20, 1867.—(Hawaiian) Reports of the Hawaiian Evang. Ass. 1867, pp. 7, 9, 21.—1868, p. 7; 1869, pp. 3, 6; and later reports which show that he remained constantly at Kaneohe.
7 Letter of Father Herman Koeckemann. July 2, 1883.
8 Letter to Father Modest, March 24, 1868. Arch. C. M. Hon.

to become the source of some trouble, and perhaps the indirect cause of a Protestant Portuguese mission. Padre M. F. Fernandes, a native of Pico in the Azores, had been ordained priest at San Francisco. Uninvited and unannounced, he presented himself at the Mission at Honolulu, bearer of an *exeat* of the Archbishop and two other indifferent letters. Bishop Herman informed him at once that, as he was not a member of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, it would be altogether impossible to admit him into the local clergy. The Padre then promised that he would continue his voyage and go to Macao. However, a few days later a petition signed by over a hundred Portuguese was presented to the Vicar-Apostolic, asking that they be allowed to erect a church of their own, and to let them have Padre Fernandes to administer to their spiritual needs. Some of the signataries were spiritually very poor Catholics; one was a noted apostate. Other Portuguese, among them the Consul, Count A. de Canavarro, were not in favor of the adventurous priest, whose education does not seem to have been much above that of the average layman. When on the following day the petitioners came for an answer to their request, the Bishop of Olba denied it, but granted the Padre the hospitality of the Mission, and permission to celebrate and to preach for some time.

The adventurer finally left on December 11th following, leaving his countrymen, who theretofore had been satisfied with the care they received from the local clergy, in a state of ferment and discontent, not a little through the efforts of the above alluded to apostate, whose aim it was thought to be to second the efforts of the Protestants to proselyte the Catholic immigrants.[9]

In the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which gathered in June 1890, it was reported that a Sabbath school had been continued during the past year for the purpose, and that funds for a Portuguese mission had been voted; that men had been sought to enter the field, but as yet had not been found, and that in one of the larger centers (Hilo) quite a company stood ready to welcome among them a religious teacher. (pp. 20, 38.)

On September 19, 1890, Dr. C. M. Hyde, so notorious as the slanderer of Father Damien, arrived at Honolulu, accompanied by three Protestant Portuguese ministers from Illinois: Messrs. Soares, Baptista and Pires, the latter, a pastor of a church in Jacksonville, having secured a few months' leave of absence in order to assist his younger colleagues in their raid.

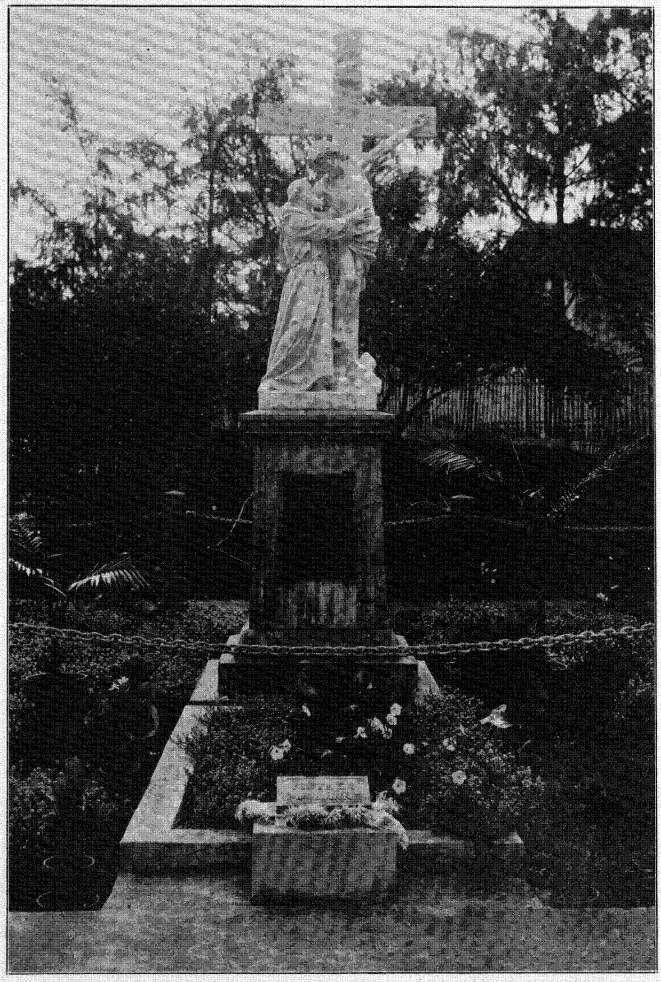
Although they began to hold services at once, their initial efforts were not very brilliant, for when nearly two years later the First Portuguese Church was organized, they counted but eleven members, including the pastor and his wife.[10]

In November, 1890, the Rev. Mr. Pires visited the island of Hawaii, and established a proselyting center in the town of Hilo. There they had at first some better success than at Honolulu, as some persons (thirty had sent a petition to the Hawaiian Board), who were but nominal Catholics, had themselves enrolled.

Immediately after the arrival of this Protestant mission, the Bishop of Olba asked the Archbishop of San Francisco to send him a Portuguese priest of his diocese, Padre Domingo do Governo, in order to preach a mission throughout the islands and to warn the Portuguese against the false doctrines which were then about to be preached to them. The missionary arrived on November 14, and remained in the group till February 9th. Between these dates he preached

9 Letter of Bishop Koeckemann, Arch. M. H. November 20, and December 13, 1889.
10 A. V. Soares in 88th Annual Report of Haw. Ev. Ass. pp. 29, 30.

GRAVE OF FATHER DAMIEN DE VEUSTER



GRAVE OF MOTHER MARIANNE
Provincial of the Sisters of St. Francisco at Kalaupapa, Molokai

to crowded audiences on the principal islands. This mission so timely given must have greatly contributed to forestall the efforts of the heretics.

A second mission perhaps yet more successful was preached two years later to the Portuguese Catholics by another priest of their nationality, Padre Alexander D. de Campos, who incessantly gave missions to his countrymen on Kauai, Oahu, Maui and Hawaii from December 2, 1893 till the 23d of June of the following year.

Yet another Portuguese priest, the Franciscan Padre José Rollins, came to the Islands for the purpose of giving a mission. He arrived at Honolulu on the 23d of August, 1911, and stayed for several months.

However, by this time his help was scarcely necessary, as all local priests had grown quite familiar with the Portuguese idiom, and the Protestant mission has become almost a dead issue; also particularly, because a young Portuguese, Father Stephen Alencastre, born in Madeira, but reared in Hawaii, had in the meantime been sent to Belgium, there to make his ecclesiastical studies, and had been ordained priest at Honolulu, on April 5, 1902.

The efforts which have been made to implant Protestantism in other localities besides Honolulu and Hilo have constantly miscarried. A perusal of the Reports of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association shows that the Portuguese sectaries counted in 1924, two hundred fifty-nine (259) members, 288 Sunday school pupils, 80 members of the Young People's Society, and had baptized the preceding year 16 infants. Their entire number can therefore scarcely exceed 700. Even this small number cannot be said to be the result of the missionaries' activity in this group, as at different times Portuguese renegades have been imported by the planters from New England.[11]

And even these meager results would never have been attained had not certain owners and managers of plantations carried on a persistent crusade against the Catholics, and used their power as employers, as well as their money, to proselyte the Portuguese workmen.[12]

It is no mean recommendation of the Portuguese in Hawaii, that out of some twenty-seven thousand, only a handful have embraced the worship of the Golden Calf, when the temptations were so strong, and consent so easy.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. After the departure of Father Larkin, St. Louis College was continued by Father Clement Evrard, who, less talented perhaps than his predecessor, soon proved more successful. It was, however, decided in the interest of Catholic education to obtain the aid of some religious teaching order, and with this end in view, the Vice-Provincial of the Mission, Father Leonor Fouesnel, left on a voyage to the United States on March 13, 1882. He was felicitous in securing the valuable services of the Brothers of Mary or Marianists, members of a religious society founded in 1817 at Bordeaux, France, by the Very Reverend William Joseph Chaminade, and introduced into the United States in 1849.

Three months after the departure of the Vice-Provincial, the Mission bought a lot across the Nuuanu River, and there the cornerstone of a new college was laid on July 3, 1882. At the end of the long vacation the buildings were ready for use, and on September 18, Father Clement opened school on the new premises. He was assisted by Father Hubert Stappers, the last director of Ahuimanu College, and by two lay professors, Messrs. Donelly and Richard Stewart. A year later, on September 3d eight Brothers of the Society of Mary

11 38th Ann. Rep. pp. 65, 66.
12 Cf. Independent (Honolulu), April 18, 1898.

arrived at Honolulu. Three of them reembarked the next day for Wailuku, where they were to take charge of St. Anthony's school; the remaining five were entrusted with the teaching in St. Louis College.[13]

They began teaching on September 10, 1883; enrolling on that day over a hundred pupils, which number increased within a fortnight to 150, twenty of whom were boarders. At the beginning of 1885 the number had more than doubled (283 day scholars and 47 boarders). To show its appreciation of the excellent work done by the Brothers, the Legislature of that year voted a subsidy of $10,000. This enabled the Bishop to make the enlargements necessitated by the growing number of pupils, and during the spring a new building, 90x45 feet, was added to the others. Further aid was given the College by the Government in the form of scholarships. These grants (in the nineties, $2500 biennially), were continued by the Republic which was proclaimed July 4, 1894, but ceased after annexation by the United States. (June 16, 1897-August 12, 1898.)

The religious education of the Catholic youth was Bishop Herman's great and praiseworthy pursuit. By establishing the new St. Louis College and providing it with thoroughly trained religious teachers, he had filled the needs of his flocks in the capital; but he sadly reflected on the difficulty of imparting the necessary instruction to the children in the rural districts. Although ready for every sacrifice in this noble cause, it was impossible to have Catholic schools except in the principal centers. The Board of Education itself acknowledged the inadequacy of its schools as far as moral teaching was concerned. "One great defect of our Common school teachers," says the President in his biennial report of 1880, "is the lack of inclination or ability to teach their pupils moral truths." By agitating the subject in the newspapers,[14] the Bishop obtained the issuing by the Board of Education of a circular, allowing all clergyment the use of the public schoolhouses, once a week after school hours, for religious instruction.[15] It appears, however, that the Catholic priests alone improved the opportunity for the benefit of Catholic children, and consequently this fair measure, which was a step in the right direction, was much criticized and opposed by the adversaries of the Church. In 1896 the Board yielded to the opposition and the permission was withdrawn. It was stated in the Biennial Report of that year; "While the members of the Board of Education fully recognize the importance of religious teaching, they do not consider it best for the State to provide such instruction. . . . Hence . . . a circular has been issued by the Board . . . withdrawing the permission formerly given . . ."[16]

Here the members of the Board showed very poor logic, as nobody had asked the State to provide such instruction, and the Catholics would have been first to object to it, had the Government ever presumed thus usurping the rights of the Church.

Meantime, however, the Bishop had urged the rights of Catholics in this important matter by the publication of a pamphlet, entitled the School Question. In it he first poses the general principles which should guide in this matters, and then makes a practical application to the Hawaiian Islands. He proposed that

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13 As the college since in charge of the Brothers of Mary is merely the continuation of that begun by Father Larkin on Beretania street, who dedicated it to St. Louis, in honor of his protector, Bishop Louis Maigret, the Patron-Saint of the Institution is evidently that Prelate's: Saint Louis, King of France, and not St. Aloysius of Gonzaga.

14 See Honolulu Bulletin of November, 1888.

15 Circular of November 21, 1888.

16 pp. 8 and 9.

1. In such localities of these Islands in which denominational schools cannot be had, it is just and proper that the Government furnish a public school for all the children of the different creeds. Religious instruction *must* be excluded from such a school, for the simple reason that the Government has no right to impose a creed upon any child.

2. The regulation issued by the Board of Education about a year ago, empowering every minister of religion to give one hour per week after class hours, of religious instruction to the children of his creed, is a step in the right direction; it benefits some children, without interfering with the rights of others.

3. The independent schools should be supported by public money as well as the public schools. The former do the same work as the latter, and they do it with equal success, to say the least. The independent schools are the *normal* schools, because they are the choice of the parents to whom the children belong incomparably more than to the State, represented by the Board of Education, whose business it should be to assist the parents in their honest efforts to educate their children according to the dictates of their conscience. Is it not *just* then, that good, independent schools should have their pro rata share of the public money contributed by all, in proportion to the number of their pupils?[17]

Unfortunately his arguments, obviously fair and convincing, were not listened to. The Hawaiian Government following in the footsteps of that of the United States, continued to impose the heavy burden of double taxation on Catholics and others who do not believe that the religious education of the child should be separated from and made secondary to his secular training.

Moreover, the time of the Prelate's stewardship was soon after brought to a close.

On February 18, 1892, he was suddenly stricken down with paralysis. His age made his recovery doubtful from the first, and with intervals of varying degrees of consciousness, his condition after the first day was shown clearly to be a dying one. After the stroke he spoke but a few words, and died on the 22d following.

Official recognition was taken of the deceased Prelate by the closing of Government offices, the half-masting of consular colors and the attendance of diplomatic and consular representatives at the funeral services. The funeral procession was marked by much solemnity, the body being borne from the church to its lasting resting place at the Catholic cemetery on a bier carried by over a score of stalwart Hawaiians, a token of respect which had been tendered but to one Hawaiian king.

Thus the natives showed their love for one who had loved them much. For although, before his consecration, the deceased had been especially in charge of the English speaking part of the congregation, his predilection was always for the Hawaiians. He used to say: "It is for the natives that we came here, and not for the white people; to preach the Gospel to the Hawaiians we are sent by the Pope, and sustained by the alms of the Propagation of the Faith."

His zeal and regularity in the fulfilment of his duties were proverbial. His manners were always so dignified that people of all classes could only look up to him, and were rather timid of addressing him. However, his kindness was so great that soon the most timid came under the charms of his conversation.

After he became Bishop, he was not satisfied with simply "overseeing" his flock; he himself continued to work most zealously in the Lord's vineyard, teaching catechism to the little ones, visiting the sick and the poor, and assiduous in the confessional. King Kalakaua, who diligently cultivated the Prelate's friendship, either for political or less interested motives, had appointed him a Grand-Officer of the Order of Kalakaua.

17 The School Question, April 30th, 1890, p. 5.

BISHOP GULSTAN.

On June 3, 1892, Father Gulstan Ropert was elevated by the Holy See to the episcopal dignity, with the title of Bishop of Panopolis, and appointed vicar apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands.

Born at Kerfago, Morbihan, France, on August 30, 1839, Francis Ropert had entered the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts when twenty years old. He was ordained priest May 26, 1866, and sent to the Hawaiian Mission about two years later, arriving at Honolulu June 9, 1868.

He was in charge of the district of Hamakua, Hawaii, until October 2, 1883, when he was assigned to the Wailuku mission. He left this place for Honolulu in October 1891, having then been appointed vice-provincial. After the Bishop of Olba's death he earnestly begged of his religious superiors not to be nominated vicar-apostolic.[18] But Father Bousquet, the Superior-General, had for many years cherished the idea, of seeing the amiable little Briton mitred, as is forcibly suggested by a letter addressed to him by Father Herman on January 5th, 1878, when the need of giving a successor or coadjutor to Bishop Maigret began to be contemplated. He consequently ignored the priest's request, appointed him provincial on April 28, and warmly recommended him to the Propaganda as a candidate for the vacancy created by the death of Bishop Koeckemann.

Having received the bull of his nomination, the Bishop-elect embarked for San Francisco, where on September 25, 1892, he was consecrated in St. Mary's cathedral, by Archbishop Riordan, assisted by Bishop Scanlan of Salt Lake City and Bishop Mora of Los Angeles.

The coat of arms which the new Prelate adopted was of azure, a St. Anna of Auray, accompanied by the letters A.M. (standing for Ave Maria) in silver; the motto being: Tuus sum ego, salvum me fac.

NEW RESIDENCE AND STATUE OF OUR LADY OF PEACE.

One of the first measures of the new Vicar Apostolic was the erection of a plain but becoming residence for his clergy at Honolulu, who till then had no decent dwelling place. The plan of this wooden two story building, flanked at all sides, except at the rear, by a veranda, and closing the old coral house acquired by Bishop Maigret in 1862, had been designed by order of the late Bishop of Olba.[19] It was now executed at a cost of about $10,000. The old two story adobe house which stood between the present parsonage and the cathedral, and was currently said to be the First Catholic Chapel, built in 1828, was torn down after the completion of the new structure. It was probably constructed in 1846, as its dimensions (24 x 15) correspond to those of a house which according to Bishop Maigret's journal, was commenced on May 14, of said year.[20] (Cf. Ch. XIII quot. 36-40.)

Under the erroneous impression then that the torn-down adobe house was the

18 Letter of March 24, 1892.

19 Letter of Bishop Gulstan, Sept. 17, 1892. Arch. M. H.

20 If further proof were required to show that the house which stood on the spot now occupied by the statue of O. L. of Peace, was not the first chapel in which Father Bachelot celebrated Mass, the following extract from his relation in the "Lettres Lithographiees" will do:

"As the chief who had informed us of our approaching departure had said: 'Your house is yours, I don't want to take it; but the land belongs to me; break down the house if you want and sell the material: (notice, adds Father Bachelot, 'that the house was built of stone,') we have reasons to fear, etc. . . ."

Now the above mentioned house was of adobe, and there could be no question of tearing it down and selling the material; nor would Father Bachelot have called adobe, stone. (L. L. vol. I, p. 34.)

first Catholic chapel of Oceania, the Bishop erected on its site as a memorial a statue of Our Lady of Peace, which he blessed on December 24, 1893, the sixty-second anniversary of Father Bachelot's first expulsion.[21]

Bishop Gulstan was of a type opposite to that of his predecessor. The latter was of the aggressive, fighting type of a churchman; the former, eminently kind and gentle of manner, was a lover of peace, and willing to make even heavy sacrifices to maintain it.

It was this love of peace and fear of giving pain to others which made him hesitate in enforcing in his vicariate the condemnation by the Holy Office of the secret societies of the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Sons of Temperance on June 24, 1894. The documents issued by the Holy See being addressed to the Bishops of the United States, his wish not to disturb the Catholics of his jurisdiction who were members of the condemned organizations, inclined him to the opinion that the proscription was limited to that country. Although confirmed in this opinion by Archbishop Riordan whom he had consulted, he remained perplexed. A letter of Card. Parocchi of January 18, 1896 to the Apostolic Delegate in North America declared the three societies to be "intrinsically bad." This "intrinsical" badness was certainly not washed off by the waters of the ocean which separate Hawaii from the Continent. Still the Bishop continued to consider the Roman decree as of local and not of universal extension. But not wholly satisfied as to the soundness of his conclusions and obviously shy of Rome, he submitted the case to the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, who decided that since those secret societies had been condemned in the United States for being intrinsically bad, they could not be tolerated in Hawaii.

Through procrastination the publication of the Roman decree had not grown any easier, and the Vicar Apostolic decided to wait for some favorable opportunity. This offered when in the autumn of 1901 he had invited two Jesuit Fathers from St. Louis to preach a mission to the English speaking population of the vicariate, at the occasion of the Jubilee. During the course of the mission, one of the missionaries publicly read the decree condemning the three societies, and explained the reasons of the Church's opposition to them.

The measure was well received by the interested Catholics, who either entirely broke with the societies, or, taking the benefit of the concessions contained in the letter of Card. Parocchi, Jan. 18, 1896, having become members in good faith before the condemnation, merely continued having their names on the roll, and paying their dues, without any further participation.

Having successfully terminated their mission at the capital, the two missioners, Fathers Boarman and McGiviney went to Hilo and Wailuku, the only two places on the group where a sufficient English speaking audience could be had. Their pious efforts were crowned with considerable success.

The better to counteract the baneful influence of secret societies, Bishop Gulstan had contemplated the introduction in his vicariate of some Catholic benevolent organization. In consequence three councils of the Young Men's Institute were successively established under his auspices, at Honolulu (January 3, 1901), Wailuku (July 7, 1902) and Hilo (October 1901). The last two, Gulstan Council and Francis Council were named after him.

BROTHERS INFIRMARIANS. After Father Damien's death the Franciscan Sisters had taken care of the home for boys begun by him at the village of Kalawao, whilst others were in charge of the girls' home situated at Kalau-

21 Gulstan's letter to Bousquet, January 1, 1894.

papa. It had been thought for some time that it might be advantageous to replace the Sisters at the former institution by male infirmarians, and as a result of the discussions on this subject, the Government in February 1895 applied to Bishop Gulstan for four brothers infirmarians. It offered to pay the traveling expenses of the Religious, to furnish them with board and lodging, and pay them a nominal salary of $20 a month.

The Bishop immediately transmitted the request to the Superior-General of his congregation, and strongly insisted that it be accepted.[22] He soon afterwards decided to make his visit "ad limina", which would offer him an opportunity personally to attend to the aforesaid matter which he considered of great importance.

Consequently he announced his approaching departure to his clergy, informing them at the same time that he had affiliated the Mission with the Work of the Sacred Heart of Montmartre, and had fixed upon September the 25th, the anniversary of his consecration, as the day annually to be solemnized by the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in the principal churches of the vicariate, as far as the circumstances allowed.

Having nominated Father Cornelius (Matthias) Limburg as his pro-vicar, the Bishop embarked for France in company with Father Hubert Stappers, and a Portuguese youth, Peter Alencastre, who was to make his studies for the priesthood at Louvain, Belgium.

During this voyage Bishop Gulstan showed his devotion to the priests of his jurisdiction by paying a visit to each one's family, which caused him to journey through France, Germany, Belgium and Holland.

On his return, November 16, of the same year, he was accompanied by Father Pamphile De Veuster, Father Damien's brother; one choir brother and four lay brothers, all of whom were destined for the Leper settlement; and a sub deacon, Aloys Lorteau, whom he ordained priest in the spring of the ensuing year. According to arrangements previously made with the Board of Health, the Brothers were given care of the Bishop's Home for Boys. Father Pamphile took the place of Father Conrardy, who, repeatedly having had difficulties with the Board, and who, for being a zealous and devoted man, was disliked by many on account of his unconventional ways and somewhat bizarre views, was requested by the Vicar Apostolic to retire.

Father Pamphile being an elderly man at the time of his arrival, and a remarkable scholar rather than a man of action, could not get accustomed to the new surroundings, and returned to Belgium, August 25, 1897.

SCHOOLS. Bishop Gulstan, like his predecessor, took considerable interest in the Catholic schools. He erected a girls' school at Hilo, which he entrusted to the Franciscan Sisters, four of whom he personally installed there in September 1900. At Honolulu he built a free school for boys (St. Francis School) in connection with St. Louis College (September 1893); whilst the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts improved their buildings about the same time by the construction at a cost of $30,000 of a fine concrete schoolhouse (1901).

FATHER WENDELIN AND THE BOARD OF HEALTH. On December 4th, 1901, Pilipo Mikila, a leprous native, and one Kalani, left the settlement in violation of the regulations of the Board of Health. The local captain of police, believing that they had been stealing sheep, arrested them on their return, and put them in jail. Kalani made a confession and was put in a light, airy cell. Mikila denied guilt, and as a punishment, was put in a cell with no outside win-

22 Letter to V. R. Bousquet, February 15, 1895; Arch. M. H.

dow, comparatively dark and poorly ventilated. Until March 12th, 1902, he was not arraigned on any charge, and no written accusation was made against him. He was in an advanced state of leprosy when he was arrested, and grew even worse during his detainment. On the last day mentioned, he was taken home by the members of a society to which he belonged. He died six days later. He had no proper care before leaving the jail, and no medical attention, worthy of the name at any time.

Complaints were made about this heartless and illegal treatment to the Attorney-General, and after an investigation, C. W. Reynolds, the superintendent of the settlement, and Dr. Oliver, the local physician were discharged for official neglect.

It was a surprise to the public that at the same meeting of the Board of Health in which these resolutions were carried, it was similarly resolved "that the harmony and interests of the leper settlement would be promoted by the removal of Father Wendelin, (the priest in charge of the Catholic congregation among the lepers since Father Damien's death (cf. Ch. XVII) and that the Right Reverend Gulstan, Bishop of Panopolis, be requested to remove him forthwith and appoint some other priest to fill the vacancy made thereby."

This summary action of the Board without any explanation at the time it was dealing with a scandal calling for removal of officers, made it appear that the Father was mixed up in the affair, in which however he had absolutely no concern.

In answering the communication of the Board, the Bishop asked that charges against the priest be formulated and proved, and declared himself willing and ready subsequently to remove him; but he added that he could not comply with the Board's injunction as actually communicated, as it would be doing wrong to a presumably innocent man.

The Board refused to prefer any charges, but determined that the permit of Father Wendelin to remain at the settlement be revoked, to take effect June 10, 1902, and thus informed the Bishop.

This action of the Board was prompted through complaints made by Superintendent Reynolds, who had accused the priest of interference with his management. The accusations were either so slight or so ill-founded, that the Board did not care to prefer them, even to the Bishop; they were subsequently communicated to the United States Senators, members of the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto-Rico.[23]

At that time over a hundred couples were living in concubinage or adultery at the settlement,[24] and this unrestricted illegitimate association of the leper patients was permitted by those in charge of or having control of the leper settlement.[25]

Father Wendelin admitted having preached, not against the Board of Health, but against this shameful immorality, and the performance of public work ordered to be done on Sunday without any urgent necessity.[26]

The persistence of the Board in demanding the removal of Father Wendelin, without preferring any charges against him, excited general indignation at Honolulu.

At the time the Board formulated its resolutions, Bishop Gulstan was absent

23 Hawaiian Investigation, part 2, pp. 285, 286.
24 Hawaiian Investigation, part 2, p. 282.
25 Hawaiian Investigation. Report of Subcommittee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico on General Conditions in Hawaii, p. 63.
26 Hawaiian Star, April 28, 1902.

on the island of Kauai, but the priests of the Mission were unanimous in condemning the action of the Board.

The central committee of the Republican party passed a resolution declaring it to be its sense "that the Board of Health would promote the public good and the peace and welfare of the Leper Settlement by reconsidering its resolution in reference to the removal of Father Wendelin."[27]

The executive committee of the Home Rule Party characterized the Board's action against the priest as "arbitrary and indefensible in the common interests."[28]

The Catholic societies were up in arms against the Board of Health, and planned organized action to force it to rescind its arbitrary order. Meetings to this effect were held by the Catholic Benevolent Union, Damien's Council of the Young Men's Institute, the Portuguese Literary and Educational Club, and the Portuguese societies Concordia, Santo Antonio and Lusitana. The latter two societies which have large memberships, resolved to strike the name of Dr. Sloggett, the president of the Board, from their list of physicians; a very forcible and efficacious argument.[29]

Even the members of the Protestant Ministerial Union promised that they would take a hand at their next meeting, as many of them were in sympathy with the Catholics.[30]

Whilst thus the public feeling against the Board of Health was daily running higher, and this body was on the point of caving, a compromise was reached between it and the Bishop of Panopolis. On May 13, the Bishop once more addressed the Board, admitting its power to remove from the settlement Father Wendelin or any other member of the Mission, and declared that "if by his actions he had become a discordant element, and these actions were brought to his attention, he should feel it his duty to cooperate with the Board in bringing about his removal." However, he requested that Father Wendelin be retained in view of his long and faithful services at the settlement.[31]

The ensuing day the Board resolved that "out of respect for the Bishop and in appreciation of the charitable objects of the Catholic mission at the settlement, this request be granted on the distinct understanding that Father Wendelin attend strictly to his clerical duties in the future. . ."[32]

But Father Wendelin was not of the opinion that he could "strictly adhere to his clerical duties," without preaching against immorality and the breaking of the Sabbath, and requested the Bishop to be relieved of his charge.

His request was granted, but the Bishop wanted him to remain at his post until the annual retreat, that in the meantime he might look for one fit to fill the position.

On September 23, Father Wendelin left the settlement to follow the spiritual exercises at Honolulu, and shortly afterwards was assigned to the mission work on the island of Molokai, south of the mountain range which separates the settlement from the remainder of the island. His place at the leper colony was filled by Father Maxime André, who theretofore had been in charge of the Hilo mission.[33]

27 Independent, April 28; Gazette, May 6, 1902.
28 Evening Bulletin, May 14, 1902.
29 Independent, May 14, 1902.
30 Evening Bulletin, May 12, 1902.
31 Haw. Invest., part 2, p. 290.
32 Ibidem, p. 291.
33 Cf. Hawaiian Investigation, part 2, pp. 276-293; 309-313; and Hawaiian Investigation, Report of Subcommittee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico on General Conditions in Hawaii, pp. 63 and following. Father Maxime remained on his post of honor till his death on Jan. 1, 1927, in the ripe age of 83 years.

Bishop Gulstan was assiduous until the end in visiting his extensive vicariate, notwithstanding the cruel sufferings which a cancer in the stomach had caused him since September 1898.[34]

In the summer of 1902 he made a trip to San Francisco and Lower California, partly for business and partly for the benefit of his declining health. Upon his return to Honolulu it was seen that his health was no better, and a physical failing began to be apparent to those around him. Unconscious of the character of the disease which carried him to the grave, he kept up the delusion that some rest and good nourishment would restore him to health.[35]

With this end in view he went to Hilo in the beginning of December 1902, there to install the author of the present volume, who had then recently arrived from Belgium.

There the Prelate became acquainted with the true nature of his sickness, and the nearness of its fatal issue. The information thus imprudently communicated prostrated the venerable Bishop. For a couple of weeks he hovered between life and death, and then rallied sufficiently to be conveyed aboard a steamer and taken back to Honolulu.

Having edified all who approached him during his last sickness by his great patience and piety, he finally succumbed on the 4th of January 1903, having made no enemies.

34 His letter to Bousquet, September 27, 1898. Arch. M. H.
35 Letter to same, November 10, 1902. Arch. M. H.

CHAPTER XIX.

Episcopate of Bishop Libert

Bishop Libert.—Kalihi Orphanage.—Wailuku Orphanage.—Father Louis Boys' Home.—New Churches.—Kaimuki Academy.—St. Louis College.—K. C. Building.—Filipino Immigration.—Apostolate among Orientals.—Death of Bishop Libert.

When the truth concerning his health which had so long been kept hidden from him, was revealed to Bishop Gulstan, he hastened to appoint a pro-vicar. His choice fell on Father Libert, who was then in charge of the Wailuku Mission. Thus he designated, as far as he was allowed, his successor, and after his death, the Holy See confirmed his choice by electing the Pro-Vicar to the titular see of Zeugma, and appointing him Vicar-Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands. The brief of election was dated April 6, 1903, but it was not till May 12th following that news of Father Libert's elevation to the episcopate reached Honolulu.

Hubert John Louis Boeynaems was born at Antwerp, Belgium, on August 18, 1857. Having completed his classical studies at the seminary of Mechlin, he entered the novitiate of the Picpus Fathers at Louvain, and at its termination was admitted to the profession of the vows in the motherhouse of the Congregation at Paris, on May 10, 1877, as Brother Libert. Back at Louvain he devoted four years to the study of philosophy and theology. Ordained a priest on September 11, 1881, he was sent to the Hawaiian Islands, where he arrived November 28 of the same year. For fourteen years Father Libert exercised the ministry on the island of Kauai; he was put in charge of Wailuku Mission in April 1895, from whence the dying Bishop of Panapolis called him to become his pro-vicar. He received the episcopal consecration at San Francisco, July 25, 1903.

The new prelate adopted as his coat of arms: "azure, a heart gules on a cross couped d'argent," the colors representing those of the Hawaiian Territory, the cross and heart symbolizing the device: *Labore et Caritate,* which the Prelate wanted to be his rule of administration.

Bishop Libert was of a very conservative nature. In view of the rapid growth his Vicariate was to experience within the next quarter of a century, both in population and enterprise, this conservatism which caused him to be opposed to changes and innovations, acting as a check on the initiative of the more impetuous members of the clergy, prevented hasty action, and brought about a steady and solid development.

His very pronounced inclination for carpentering caused him to take a personal interest in the building of churches and other institutions which could not be accomplished without his approval. His great solicitude for the Kalihi Orphanage where for many years he passed his week ends, must be attributed to this propensity for manual labor.

This orphanage, the acute need for which had been felt for years, was opened in Kalihi Valley on October 3, 1909. It is dedicated to Saint Anthony and from the beginning was put in charge of the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts .

Up till 1918 the Catholic Mission almost exclusively defrayed all the expenses of this charitable institution. From that time on however it receives its share of the General Welfare Drive. The guardians of the inmates are expected to pay some modest contribution, if it is in their power. At the time of writing this chapter, there are over a hundred children in this Home. Larger

buildings are urgently needed, as now for lack of accommodations, numerous applications for admission have to be turned down.

Another orphanage, also under the protection of Saint Anthony, has been opened at Wailuku through the untiring efforts of Father Justin van Schaijk, who since 1912 has been in charge of the Wailuku Mission, which he has persistingly and wonderfully improved, sacrificing much of his own comfort and peace of mind to the realization of his lofty ideals. This orphanage was opened on March 19, 1923. It is under the care of the Franciscan Sisters of Syracuse. Thanks to their disinterested devotion, to the unflagging concern of the worthy Pastor, and the generous aid, both official and private, lent by the inhabitants of Maui of all denominations, this institution rejoices in a steady and sturdy growth.

At Hilo, on the Big Island, a somewhat similar institution has attracted the attention of both Islanders and visitors from the Mainland. It is Father Louis Boys' Home. Father Aloysius Borghout had been for many years curate of St. Joseph's Church at that locality. His interest in erring boys caused him to be appointed probation officer. At times having on his hands orphans or dependent boys for whom he could not find a proper home, he housed them at the rectory, and provided for them from his salary as a probation officer. Soon their number grew and it became impracticable to keep them at the Mission. A home was built for them on the premises of the Brothers' School. It was opened on the 16th of September, 1916.

Since then many additions and improvements have been made, and it is now considered a model institution of its kind. Father Louis has no employees or assistants. The sixty boys who at present are the inmates of the institution, cook their own bread, raise their own vegetables, prepare their own meals, wash and repair their own clothes, make their own beds, and so on.

And everything is spick and span as in a nunnery. The expenses of the establishment are met by a share in the General Welfare Drive, a County subsidy and private contributions.

Of the many churches which were constructed during the administration of Bishop Libert, four deserve special mention.

The Sacred Heart Church on Wilder Avenue, Honolulu, was built by Father Stephen Alencastre, the present Vicar-Apostolic. It is entirely constructed of blue stone, and has a sitting capacity of over four hundred people. Its beautiful stained glass windows were imported from France. The church was blessed on the 1st of November, 1914. It took the place of a small wooden church also dedicated to the Sacred Heart, and situated somewhat further on Wilder Avenue.

The Bachelot Hall constructed of the same material and in the same style as the church, was added in 1923. (Dedicated June 23.)

In Hilo Father James Beissel erected a lasting monument to his memory when he built the new St. Joseph's Church and rectory on the corner of Kapiolani and Haili Streets. This beautiful concrete structure is in the Spanish style; the simple but pleasing stained glass windows were made in the United States. Its blessing took place in February, 1919. The former St. Joseph's Church with its two steeples which served as a beacon to navigators entering Hilo Bay, stood further down town near the corner of Waianuenue and Keawe Streets.

St. Anthony's Church at Wailuku was enlarged and practically rebuilt by Father Justin van Schaijk in 1920. It was blessed on the 11th of April of that year. It vies in beauty with the other churches we have mentioned, but its surroundings give it a more monumental aspect.

A splendid school for boys, built in cement bricks, was added to the Wailuku

Mission complex in October 1925. It replaced advantageously the delapidated wooden structure which had outlived its usefulness as a school building, which has however been repaired and serves now as an additional dormitory for the orphanage. The new rectory needed for years, but always postponed till "more necessary" constructions would have been completed, has also finally become a reality.

After half a century of unremitting toil in the education of Hawaii's maidenhood, the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts felt the necessity of opening a higher institution of learning. A large, unimproved lot on Waialae Road, between 5th and 6th Avenues was acquired, and an impressive concrete building was thereon erected to serve as an academy. The work carefully supervised by Bishop Libert, was practically completed in the summer of 1909. On September 5th the school was solemnly dedicated and blessed by His Lordship. The classes opened on September 13, though the accommodations were by far inadequate. The school started with thirty-three boarders and twenty day scholars.

Sister Constantine acted as Superior under Mother Mary-Lawrence. Her place was taken in November 1916 by Mother Louise-Henriette who arrived from Massachusetts to be the first Superior resident at Kaimuki. Under her guidance the institution progressed by leaps and bounds. The grounds from a rocky and barren place were turned into beautiful gardens. The school attendance soon doubled, and after three years it became an absolute necessity to build a new wing in order to accommodate the ever increasing number of pupils. This addition included an auditorium, a chapel and apartments for the Sisters. It was completed in the summer of 1920, and on August 15 the new chapel was blessed and given the name of St. Margaret Mary. This chapel, although offering a sitting capacity for 400 people, whilst the chaplain is saying two Masses on Sundays, proves entirely too small for the growing population of Kaimuki. A much larger church will be constructed which will be dedicated to St. Patrick.

On the opposite side of the convent a second new wing was constructed in the summer of 1926.

Saint Louis College kept pace with the growing population. A dining hall to accommodate the boarders was erected in 1904; in 1911 a study hall with dormitories was added. A large two-story concrete schoolhouse was built in 1914 on River Street between St. Francis School and the principal entrance. In 1923 a two-classroom bungalow was constructed to allow the taking in of an additional one hundred pupils, the number of whom at the end of the school year 1926 amounted to 1220, including seventy boarders.

Several other churches and recreation halls have been built during the administration of Bishop Libert. It is not possible to make separate mention of them all. In the following chapter the date of their erection will be given in the list of churches.

The K. C. Building, however, cannot be so summarily dismissed.

K. C. BUILDING.

In 1919 the Knights of Columbus resolved to extend to the Hawaiian Islands the welfare work among the service men which since the entrance of the United States in the Great War, they had so successfully maintained on the mainland and in the belligerent countries.

It was first thought to erect a hut at Schofield Barracks, some twenty miles from Honolulu. But as the military authorities refused the necessary consent, it was decided to open a club at Honolulu. After protracted oral deliberations, arrangements in writing were made on November 7, 1919 with Bishop Libert

Boeynaems whereby the Catholic Church in the Territory of Hawaii demised and leased to the Knights of Columbus a parcel of land, part of the Cathedral premises, to have and to hold for the term of 19 years and eleven months, beginning November 1, 1919, yielding and paying therefor rent at the rate of one dollar per annum, the lessee covenanting that it would, within a year from that date and at its own expense erect upon the demised premises a building of at least two stories in height, suitable for the usual purposes of a Knights of Columbus building, and intended for service in the moral, physical, intellectual and religious improvement of men and women.

For this purpose the Knights appropriated a sum of $50,000 from their pre-drive fund, which sum was then held in trust by Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco.

Father Bachelot's algaroba tree which was standing at the Mission entrance on Fort Street, was cut down on Oct. 23, 1919 to make room for the projected building. The limbless trunk was again put up at the Beretania entrance of the Mission. On its spot arose soon afterward a huge, three-story reinforced concrete pile, which toward the end of May of the following year was ready for occupancy. On the 29th of that month the formal dedication of the magnificent structure took place.

The social service work for the soldiers and sailors began by the secretaries of the K.C. on the 1st of February at the University Club, was now transferred hither. Thousands of service men found hospitality and entertainment within its portals.

Work of the K.C. clubs had ceased on the mainland sometime previous. Because of the fact that in Hawaii and possessions of the United States the change back to normalcy was slower, the club here and some other clubs were kept in existence longer.

However on December 31, 1920, Albert G. Bagley, Department Director of K.C. War Activities at San Francisco informed Bishop Boeynaems that the Knights were to discontinue their activities in Honolulu, and that in the end of February following the building would be turned over to him. Consequently on March 21, 1921 they surrendered and terminated the lease of November 7, 1919, and gave, granted, bargained and conveyed unto the Roman Catholic Church in the Territory of Hawaii the building erected on the therein mentioned premises. On August 13, of the same year authority was moreover granted to retain all the furnishings and fittings contained therein.

For the utilization of the building which in this way had become the property of the Catholic Mission, a Columbus Welfare Club was formed on the 3d of May, 1921, said club being composed of adult Catholics for the purpose of promoting such activities as pertain to the general welfare of the local Catholic community.

On April 7, 1922, the name of the Club was changed into that of Columbus Welfare Association, under which it is presently known. The preceding year the organization had been denied a share in the General Welfare Drive, as it was held that it was duplicating existing organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. In 1922, however, the application having been renewed, notification was received that henceforward the Columbus Welfare Association was to be included in the United Welfare Campaign.

The mere fact that in the last few years so many beautiful churches were built in concrete and the repeated mention of stained glass windows, are indications of the material prosperity which the Hawaiian Islands have been enjoying, and in which the Catholics naturally had their share, albeit they belong almost exclusively to the less favored classes. In the past the missionaries had relied for the building of their churches, the maintenance of their schools and their own support, on the subsidies granted by the Societies for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Holy Childhood. The Hawaiian Mission during the century of its existence has received over one million dollars from this double source. Some return was made to these societies by taking up annually a collection for their benefit, but before 1914 these collections never amounted to more than $900. However when the War began to react on the Missions, and S.O.S. calls from the missionaries grew louder and more frequent, the Catholics of Hawaii did not turn deaf ears to these cries of distress. Every year their contributions for the Foreign Missions grew: in 1914, $918.25; in 1915, $1088.90; in 1916, $1333.25; in 1917, $1305.60; in 1918, $3479.34; in 1919, $4052.49; in 1920, $5379.70; and in 1921, $7012.01. After that the amount remained about stationary. The Mission then began to return somewhat more than it received, and began to have a feeling of comfort, as if self-supporting. The Filipino immigration of which we have to speak now, soon upset this nicely balanced state of affairs.

About the beginning of 1910 the planters began to import laborers from the Philippine Islands. The greater part of them being bachelors, and rather indifferent Catholics, they did not create much of a problem in the first few years. However, the immigration continued; married couples and girls were brought, till now in June, 1926, there are 50,000 Filipinos in the Territory of Hawaii, mostly Visayans, Tagalogs and Ilocanos. Especially among those of the latter tribe are many Aglipayans or as, they call themselves, Independientes; schismatics then rather than Roman Catholics.

The great majority of the Filipino Catholics in these Islands are poorly instructed in their religion. As they were born and raised during the years of the rebellion against Spain and the consequent war with the United States, which disturbances brought about the exodus of about 5/8 of their religious teachers, this is certainly not surprising. Still they are strongly attached to the old religion which the Spaniards brought them together with the benefits of civilization, and are careful to have the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation administered to their children. Although not very faithful in attending Mass themselves, they have a great devotion in having Masses offered for the souls of their departed relatives and in honor of their favorite Saints. They also dearly love religious processions, especially during the month of May.

From the beginning the Fathers were assiduous in visiting their camps and in inviting them to the divine services, speaking to them in Spanish or in pidgin-English. In Honolulu three small Filipino centers were established to attract and instruct the children. In Iwilei is the modest Catholic Filipino Clubhouse to which a kindergarten is attached. If the appearance of this clubhouse is modest on account of the very restricted means of those in charge of it, it is a focus of great activity. Two other centers, San Jose in Kalihi-kai, and Santa Thecla on Liliha Street we have been unable to keep up. Presently plans are made and money is being saved for the purpose of erecting a large and durable church in honor of Saint Vincent Ferrer on School Street for the Filipinos who live by preference in that part of the city. The Very Reverend Father Victorinus Claesen whom they seem to have elected by silent but unanimous consent as their spiritual leader, is in charge of those various activities. He is ably assisted by a staff of zealous catechists, one of whom, Christian Andrews, was rewarded by the Holy Father in 1926

with the golden cross "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice." The latter catechist is authority for the statement that "while before these activities began a Filipino never went to the Sacraments, now there are very many making their Easter duties, whilst quite a few approach the Holy Table monthly and even weekly."

In the past it has not been possible to do much for the conversion of the Orientals in our midst. Saint Louis College and the other Catholic schools have been the means of bringing a number of Chinese young people to the Church. A Chinese Sodality was erected in the College in 1915 which counts now 73 members although it does not comprise all the Catholic Chinese pupils of the school, but only those of the higher grades. A Catholic Chinese Club recently established in the Cathedral, wishes to get hold of those young people of their race who have left school. It counts at present some 40 members. A recently established Chinese Catholic Ladies' Society endeavors to do the same for those of their sex. In all there are some 1200 Chinese Catholics in the group.

Unlike the Chinese, Japanese parents have been always satisfied with the education offered by the Public Schools. In consequence but few converts of that nationality came from our schools. In 1923 the Catholic Instruction League was founded, which consists of volunteer lay catechists who after working hours go in the slums and suburbs trying to teach catechism to those children who do neither go to the Catholic schools nor to the regular catechism classes for the pupils of the Public schools. Besides Catholic children these catechists soon succeeded in attracting some Japanese youngsters. Teresa Chinen was the first convert thus made. She was baptized and made her first Communion on the feast of the Epiphany, 1924. In the month of April following she stood godmother for her little pals, Teresa and Christian Yamamoto. In October, 1925, fourteen more children of Nippon were baptized, one of whom was an adult, to wit, the mother of Teresa Chinen. Fourteen at that time was thought to be a big crowd. But in March, 1926, fifty-four Orientals were admitted to the Church in Honolulu alone. Three of these were Koreans, the rest all Japanese. In May five more entered into the Fold, and a goodly number follow the catechism classes as a preparation for the reception of Baptism. The impetus is given, and great expectations are entertained for the future. In all we count now some 600 Japanese Catholics in the Islands, besides about one hundred Koreans. The children of the Flowery Kingdom make very devout Christians.

In 1922 it became evident that Bishop Libert was suffering from heart disease. As the disease progressed he could not perform his duties any more, and applied to the Holy See for a coadjutor. After some delay Father Stephen Alencastre was appointed Bishop of Arabissus on the 29th of April, 1924, and given to Bishop Libert as coadjutor with right of succession.

A couple of days before the feast of the Ascension, 1926, Bishop Libert had gone to the Kalihi Orphanage as was his wont. Almost immediately after he got a touch of the flu, and his physician considered it advisable to take him to the hospital. In the afternoon of the Ascension having gone there, he died at 7:15 in the evening having received Extreme Unction in the abbreviated form from the hands of his coadjutor who had been hurriedly telephoned for. The obsequies took place on the following Monday, May 17, the remains being interred above those of Bishop Herman Koeckemann on the King street cemetery.

CHAPTER XX

Bishop Stephen's Accession. Actual Status of the Mission

Bishop Stephen Alencastre.—Erection of Curia.—Missionaries.—Districts and Churches.—Catholic Population.—Schools.—Catholic Societies.—Religious Papers.

At the death of Bishop Libert, Bishop Stephen Alencastre, having been previously appointed his coadjutor with right of succession, became automatically Vicar-Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands.

Born November 3, 1876, on the little island of Porto Santo, near Madeira, he received at baptism the name of Peter. In 1882 the family came to Hawaii, where they lived successively on the Big Island, on Kauai, on Maui, and finally at Honolulu. It was at Hana, Maui, that the little Peter took the first steps on the road which was to lead unto the episcopate, by becoming the mission boy of Father Anschaire, who in those days was working strenuously at the conversion of the Japanese, in whose language he had become wonderfully proficient. When the family moved to Honolulu, Peter became the mission boy of Father Leonore, and went to school at St. Louis College. In the summer of 1895 he accompanied Bishop Gulstan on his voyage to Europe, and entered the novitiate of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts at Louvain. As in the autumn of that same year the novitiate was transferred to Courtrai, it was in this place that he finished his time of probation. Having made his religious profession at Louvain on the 20th of April, 1896, he returned to Courtrai to make his studies for the priesthood. In the autumn of 1898 he was again sent to Louvain for the continuation of his theological studies. He had contracted, however, a catarrh of the lungs, which, it was feared, might develop in tuberculosis. In November of that same year he was therefore sent to the Apostolic School at Simpelveld, Holland, for a rest. When in the spring of the following year the physician declared him cured, it was deemed better not to expose him any longer to the inclemencies of the Northern climate, but to allow him to return to Hawaii. Having arrived at Honolulu on the 26th of July, 1900, he was sent for a short time to Wailuku, returned again to Honolulu, where successively he was ordained sub-deacon, November 26, 1900, deacon October 6, 1901, and priest April 5, 1902. From then on he was attached to the Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace, occasionally giving missions to his country men in the different islands. In 1913, after the death of Father Clement Evrard, he was given charge of the chapel of the Sacred Heart on Wilder Avenue, near Metcalf Avenue. Soon a larger church was deemed necessary, and Father Stephen started a campaign to collect funds for the execution of his plans. A lot was bought, also on Wilder Avenue, but somewhat nearer town, opposite Punahou College, and there the first stone of the new Sacred Heart Church was laid on August 31, 1913. The building was erected in concrete blocks and has fine stained glass windows, made in Le Puys, France. The cost of the finished building, which was blessed on November 1st, 1914, was around $30,000.

As we have said in the preceding chapter, Father Stephen was elected Bishop of Arabissus on April 29, 1924, and was consecrated by Bishop

RT. REV. GULSTAN ROPERT, BISHOP OF PANOPOLIS

BISHOP LIBERT BOEYNAEMS AND CLERGY, 1923

Cantwell at Los Angeles on the 24th of August of the same year. After the death of Bishop Libert, one of the first steps of the new Vicar Apostolic was to provide for a better administration of the Vicariate by appointing a vicar delegate, a chancellor, consultors, a defensor vinculi and general directors for the Apostleship of Prayer and for the societies for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Holy Childhood.

Having thus erected his curia, the Bishop left for the Continent, to attend the Eucharistic Congress of Chicago, and to promote the affairs of his vicariate.

In the autumn of 1926 he again made a voyage, to Rome this time, for the purpose of getting more laborers for his share of the Lord's vineyard. Having received permission of the Holy See he began negotiations with the Very Reverend Mgr. James A. Walsh, the founder and Superior General of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll), and in consequence the first Maryknoller, Father W. S. Kress arrived at Honolulu on Febr. 4, 1927 and was put in charge of the Sacred Heart Church at Punahou.

The missioners who assist the Vicar Apostolic in the ministrations of his flock, belong to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts. Although yet sometimes styled members of the "French Mission," on account of previous historical associations, only two priests still claim France for the country of their birth. Like the population to whose spiritual needs they have to minister, they are of a cosmopolitan make-up. Of the 41 missionaries who form the present clergy, 14 are Belgians, 9 Dutch, 11 Germans, 2 French, 2 Portuguese, 1 Irish, 1 Pole and 1 Luxemburger.

On his arrival in the mission, the young missionary who through his early training has become acquainted with at least five languages, may lay some modest claim to polyglottous honors. Withal, ere he has been many hours in the Hawaiian Babel, he feels the inadequacy of his linguistic attainments; three more languages, English, Hawaiian and Portuguese, must be mastered in no long time, if he wishes to be of any use. Having become familiar with these three idioms which he needs imperatively and continually, he yet meets on every step with Catholics and those who wish to enter into the Church, who speak tongues radically different from those he has acquired. This endless variety of languages which he ought to know, but will never be able to master, is the Hawaiian missionary's most encumbering handicap.

A Protestant ex-minister of the monarchy in a report to the United States Congress thus pithingly characterizes the members of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii:

"The Catholic missionaries in Hawaii strictly perform their ecclesiastical duties and do not mix in traffic nor politics. They worship the God of Heaven and not Mammon. They prefer sanctity to profanity; they admire religion and not wealth; and they are highly respected."

The clergy finds efficient helpers in the members of the various religious orders, whose arrival we have narrated in preceding chapters: the laybrothers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts (7), and the Sisters of the same Congregation (75); the Brothers of Mary whose provincial motherhouse is at Dayton, Ohio, and number 2 priests and 44 Brothers; and the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis from Syracuse, N. Y., 31 in number. Of their respective activities mention will be made further on.

DISTRICTS AND CHURCHES

The Mission is at present divided in twenty-five districts. Five of these divisions are on the Island of Oahu: Honolulu, Aiea, Ewa, Waialua and Koolau.

At Honolulu stands the simple but devout cathedral of Our Lady of Peace, erected in 1840-43 of coral blocks. It was Bishop Libert's plan to change the church gradually into a gothic edifice. With this end in view a concrete porch in that style was constructed in 1910. It was then realized that it would not be practical to collect sufficient funds entirely to materialize the plans, and it was decided to leave the building for the time being in its actual state; a striking illustration of Luke XIV: 28-30.

Further improvements were made, however, by the laying of a concrete floor and the placing of a new communion rail and new pews in 1912. In 1917 the wooden spire-topped belfry, which had become unsafe, was replaced by the present, low-pitched-roofed concrete tower. In the spring of 1926 the woodwork ravaged by termites was entirely renewed, and the beauty of the interior of the church became thereby greatly enhanced. Five thousand people attend Mass here every Sunday.

Divine services are held furthermore in the following churches: The *Sacred Heart Church* at Punahou, a spacious and splendid church of concrete blocks, adorned with fine French stained glass windows, built through the efforts of the present Bishop.

St. Augustine-on-the-Beach, at Waikiki, is a neat and comfortable chapel entirely in lattice, and set in beautiful surroundings.

St. John the Baptist at Kalihi-waena, also very neat, but not large enough for the growing population; *Our Lady of the Mount* at Kaiulani Tract, having an almost exclusively Portuguese congregation; *St. Anthony's,* on Puuhale Road, built in 1916, to which belongs the little mission chapel of *St. Joseph* at Moanalua, in the beautiful park of Mr. S. Damon.

There is furthermore *St. Agnes-in-the-Palms* on Kamani Street in Kewalo, which used to be a Protestant church, but was bought by the Mission, and blessed for Catholic worship on April 11, 1915; a very pretty little church. In Kaimuki on Sixth Avenue stands *St. Margaret Mary's,* a fine concrete building with artistic stained glass windows, made in Belgium. It is properly the chapel of the Academy of the Sacred Hearts of which it forms a wing. This place of worship was blessed August 15, 1920. It has a seating capacity of four hundred people. The growth of the Kaimuki district has been so rapid that after only six years, St. Margaret's has grown inadequate. Building of a much larger edifice to be dedicated to St. Patrick is contemplated. It is to be located on the corner of Waialae Road and Sixth Avenue.

Work on a church for the Filipinos to be named St. Vincent Ferrer will also begin in the immediate future. This church will be located on School Street.

Mass may be heard moreover in the semi-public chapels of the Franciscan Sisters on Liliha Street and of the Kapiolani Home. In the month of August, 1926, the Bishop divided the City of Honolulu into nine quasi-parishes, this regulation to take effect on the first of January, 1927. The parish-churches are O. L. of Peace, the Sacred Heart, S. John-the-Baptist, St. Anthony, O. L. of the Mount, St. Agnes, St. Augustin. St. Patrick and St. Vincent.

In the four outlying districts there are chapels at Ewa-Mill, Waipahu, Honouliuli and Waianae (district of Ewa); at Aiea and Puuloa (district of Aiea); at

Waialua, Kahuku, and Kawailoa (Waialua district); and at Haleaha, Waikane and Heeia (Koolau district).

The Island of Kauai is divided into three districts, West, South and East Kauai, with chapels at Waimea, Makaweli and Eleele; at Kalaheo, Koloa and Kapaia; and at Kealia, Kilauea and Hanalei.

On Molokai there are two chapels in the leper settlement, in charge of as many priests, at Kalaupapa and at Kalawao. The first named, dedicated to St. Francis, was constructed in reinforced concrete in 1908 (blessed May 26, 1908) to replace the fine and large wooden structure planned and erected by Father Wendelin in 1899-1900, but entirely destroyed by fire on the afternoon of August 12, 1906.

The rest of the Island, practically the whole of it, as the leper settlement is only about 1/40 of the entire area, forms one extensive but thinly populated district—only 300 Catholics with five chapels; at Kaluaaha, Kamalo, Moanui, Halawa, and Kaunakakai.

MAUI has six districts with a total of 28 churches. At Wailuku is a splendid church which was blessed April 11, 1920. The pastor also looks after two chapels, one at Waihee and one at Waikapu. The Puunene district has but two chapels, at Puunene and at Spreckelsville. Paia, Kuau, Haiku and Keahu form the Paia district. A fine concrete church is now being built at Paia, and is nearly completed. To Makawao belong the chapels of Waiakoa, Kamaole, Ulupalaku and Huelo.

Lahaina, the cradle of the Faith on Maui, has six mission chapels, Olowalu, Kaanapali, Honokohua, Honokohau, Kahakuloa, and Puukolii. The isolated Hana district has places of worship in the following seven localities: Puuiki, Kaupo, Kipahulu, Kaeleku, Nahiku, Keanae and Hana.

HAWAII, the Big Island, is divided into nine missionary districts, as follows:

Hilo-Town has an elegant concrete church in Spanish Mission style, built by Father James Beissel in 1919 on Haili Street. The former St. Joseph's church which stood on Keawe Street, between Waianuenue and Kalakaua streets and whose two steeples were a beacon for incoming vessels, was built in 1862, and was blessed on the 9th of September of that year. It was enlarged and given new steeples in 1905.

There is also a chapel dedicated to the Holy Angels (at the Sisters School on Kapiolani Street), and a third small chapel at Kaiwiki, erected in honor of St. Anthony.

The Honomu district has very neat churches at Honomu, Papaikou and Hakalau. The churches of Papaaloa, Waikaumalo (Ninole) and Ookala, now in charge of the priests of Honomu and Honokaa, will be formed soon into a separate district, with a priest's residence at Papaaloa. The Honokaa district comprises the churches of Honokaa, Kukuihaele, Waipio, Kukaiau, and Kalopa. The Waimea chapel which presently is under charge of the Kohala priest, will probably soon be attached also to the Honokaa district.

The north point of Hawaii is named Kohala. This district contains the following chapels; Hawi, Hawi-Homesteads, Kapaau, Halawa, Waiapuka and Waimea.

On the West side of Hawaii we have two districts, North and South Kona, rich in historical associations, but poor in natural resources. Holualoa, Kailua, Laaloa, Kawanui, Kalaoa, Kealakekua and Kahalui belong to the former, Honaunau, Napoopoo, Pahoehoe, and Kealia to the latter district.

To the south of the island we have the district of Kau with chapels at Waiohinu, Hilea, Pahala and Honuapo.

Puna, finally, has chapels at Pahoa, Olaa (9 miles), Olaa (11 miles), Mountain View, Kalapana, Malama and Kapoho.

Together with the chapel of St. Louis College at Honolulu, which is not public, there are in the Vicariate 113 churches and chapels wherewith to accommodate a population of well over one hundred thousand Catholics.

POPULATION

At the end of June, 1926, there were in Hawaii approximately 105,922 Catholics out of a total population of 328,444. According to nationalities they were divided as follows:

Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians	14,830
Portuguese	27,170
Spaniards	1,700
Porto Ricans	6,300
Filipinos	48,000
Nordics (i.e. Caucasians not of the Latin race)	6,022
Chinese	1,200
Japanese	600
Koreans	100
	105,922

Catholic soldiers and sailors are not included in this number. There may be some three thousand of them, which would bring the total of Catholics in Hawaii to 109,000.

SCHOOLS.

Thanks to the indefatigable devotion of the saintly members of the religious teaching orders, the Catholic schools in the Vicariate are continually gaining in efficiency, in the number of pupils, in equipment and in permanent improvements.

We cannot give adequate praise to these humble men and women who, sacrificing whatever pleasures and advantages the world has to offer, devote all their talents, energy and time to educate—without pay or hope of earthly reward, but merely for the sake of Christ—the often unattractive progeny of unknown parents, to whom they are not related by any ties, either of blood, friendship or interest. The world takes no notice of them, though they are its salt and leaven. Unaware of success, not seeing the fruit of their labors, they patiently plod along the road of the Cross, extending little by little the boundaries of the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ is their Witness, as He will be their reward.

Foremost among the Catholic schools of the Vicariate stands St. Louis College with 32 Brothers of Mary on the teaching force, and 1220 pupils (including 70 boarders) following the curriculum.

The course of studies embraces the following branches: Christian Doctrine, General History, English, German, French, Latin, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Physics, Chemistry, Penmanship, Bookkeeping, Phonography, Typewriting, Commercial Law, Civic and Physical Geography.

The graduating certificate of the College entitles its possessor to matriculation in the University of Hawaii. The commercial department is fitted out with 45 typewriters, 20 calculators, 3 bookkeeping machines, and various other devices

used in up-to-date offices, as adding machines, cash registers, mimeographs, filing cases and so on.

The musical department embraces a band and orchestra of no mean efficiency; whilst the scientific department has fine laboratories with an up-to-date physical cabinet, wireless and X-ray outfits.

The graduates of St. Louis College are in great demand by the business firms of the territory, the best possible homage to the thorough commercial training and the sound formation of character which the institution imparts.

The present site of the College having grown too small and no longer suitable, the Society of Mary has acquired in Kaimuki on Waialae Road a large tract of land of 200 acres, called Laepohaku. There the grounds are now being prepared for the erection of a college, which the Brothers expect to occupy in September 1928.

The Marianists are also in charge of two other schools for boys of very high standard in the towns of Hilo and Wailuku, the first with seven teachers and 350 pupils, the second, an eighth grade and commercial highschool with six teachers and 383 pupils.

The Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary teach in the three following institutions:

The Academy of the Sacred Hearts at Kaimuki, a suburb of Honolulu. Its curriculum embraces both primary and high school education. Its staff consists of 30 nuns, and the number of pupils in 1926 was 350, of whom 70 were boarders. The boarding school, which has existed since the arrival of the good Sisters, was first located on Fort Street, but was transferred to the present site on September 13, 1909 when the Academy was opened.

It is an imposing building in reinforced concrete, admirably arranged internally; the surrounding grounds are spacious and pleasing. In 1920 a first wing was added on the east side of the main building; a western wing was added in 1926 and completed in September of that year.

The science department has well-furnished laboratories with all the modern equipments necessary to an up-to-date high school. The commercial department runs twenty typewriters of the latest models, and is equipped with various other devices with which the modern stenographer is supposed to be familiar.

The musical department is supremely efficient.

The graduating certificate of the Academy also entitles the recipient to matriculation in the University of Hawaii.

The Sisters also keep a primary private school and primary free school for girls in which the program of the public schools is closely followed. These two schools are located in the Fort Street Convent next to the Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace. Thirty-six nuns are in attendance. The number of pupils enrolled in these two schools is 597, of whom 70 are boarders.

A well-frequented and successful music department is attached to the school.

The original constructions have now all disappeared. The institution presently occupies an extensive square of elevated concrete buildings. Of these the two story building on Fort Street was completed in 1901; the main building on Garden Lane was erected in 1920, and its two wings in 1925, whilst the last addition, facing Union Street was completed in the autumn of 1926.

The third institution in care of the White Sisters, the Kalihi Orphanage, was made mention of in the preceding chapter.

The Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, whose motherhouse is in

Syracuse, N. Y., and who came to the Islands in 1883 to nurse the lepers and other sick, have since expanded their incomparable devotion; and their beneficent activity now embraces six establishments of charity and education.

At the leper settlement they are in charge of the Bishop Home, where at present leprous women and girls are nursed by them. We wish to make here an honorable mention of Mother Marianne, the Provincial of the Franciscan Sisters who personally conducted her little band to Kalawao in 1888. She remained at this difficult post till her death which occurred August 9, 1918. In the words of one who knew her well "Rev. Mother Marianne has won the affection and the respect of all who have come in contact with her. She was an exemplary religious and an exact observer of the rules of her institute. As it was to be expected of one who had held the place of Mother Superior of the whole Congregation, she was always dignified and polite, calm and firm. Being severe to herself, she always exhorted the members of her order to keep to the letter the rules and traditions of their institute." Mother Marianne died at the age of eighty-one years.

Four Sisters are actually in attendance at the Bishop Home.

The Kapiolani Home for non-leprous girls of leprous parents is established at Kalihi, a suburb of Honolulu. Some 50 girls are here educated by the good nuns. Not long ago the Sisters founded a novitiate at Honolulu, on Liliha street, where they have presently seven novices and four postulants. On the same premises a hospital dedicated to St. Francis is now ready for occupation. It will be the first Catholic hospital in the Islands.

At Wailuku, Maui, the Sisters are having charge of the Malulani Hospital, which is, however, a county institution. In the same locality they take care of the St. Anthony's Orphanage, and of the parochial school for girls. At Hilo also they conduct the girls' school, the latter having five Sisters and 300 pupils, the Wailuku school, five Sisters and 375 pupils. The instruction and education imparted in these schools are of the highest efficiency.

Other Mission schools, not in charge of religious teachers are:

The Sacred Heart School at Lahaina with two teachers and 103 children; St. Ann's at Heeia with two teachers and 35 pupils; whilst the Sacred Heart School at Waiohinu, Kau, at one time very flourishing, but lately in exceedingly poor condition, was closed after the school year 1925-26.

As a summary of the Catholic schools in the Vicariate we have the following:

	Teachers	Boys	Girls	Total of Pupils
St. Louis College, Honolulu	32	1,220	.....	1,220
Academy of the S.S. Hearts at Kaimuki, Honolulu	30	.....	350	350
Sisters' School, Honolulu	36	.....	597	597
Sisters' School, Hilo	5	.....	300	300
Sisters' School, Wailuku	5	.....	375	375
Brothers' School, Hilo	6	350	.....	350
Brothers' School, Wailuku	6	383	.....	383
S. Heart School, Lahaina	2	56	47	103
S. Ann's, Heeia	2	23	12	35
S. Heart's School, Waiohinu	1	10	15	25
Kalihi Orphanage	2	51	53	104
Kapiolani Home	6	.....	62	62
Totals	133	2,093	1,811	3,904

Four laybrothers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts are in attendance at the Baldwin Home for leprous boys in the Molokai settlement. It should be noticed here that the activity of the Brothers and Sisters at the leper settlement is limited to these two homes. The lepers outside of these institutions have to be cared for by their fellow sufferers in their own homes, or may go either to the Bay View Home, the McVeigh Home or the Pauahi Hospital, where the attendants are lepers themselves or so-called kokuas, i.e., helpers, but not trained nurses.

The two priests of the colony are there exclusively to look after the spiritual needs of the faithful. Some years ago Father Maxime Andre started a Catholic Red Cross Society, whose members visit the people in their houses, give them the assistance which they can render, and notify the priest and the physician, whenever their services are required.

CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

There are numerous Catholic Societies in Hawaii. The Young Men's Institute is represented by three divisions: Damien Council No. 563 at Honolulu with 160 members, Francis Council No. 572 at Hilo with 100 members. Both councils have Ladies' Auxiliaries in flourishing condition. Gulstan Council at Wailuku, established July 7, 1902, was discontinued towards the end of 1911 but resuscitated in the winter of 1926.

Among purely religious societies the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin occupies the first place. What we may call flourishing sodalities, considering the small congregations, exist in Honolulu at the Cathedral, the Sacred Heart Church, St. Margaret's, St. Agnes' and St. John's for girls, and at the latter two churches also for boys. Outside of the capital there are Sodalities for either boys or girls or sometimes for both at Hilo, Wailuku, Papaikou, Honomu, Holualoa, Kukaiau and Lahaina.

At Hilo there exists a Catholic Service Bureau with a membership of 300.

The Sacred Heart League has centers in different places.

At St. Louis College a Holy Name Society has been erected which has some 500 members on its rolls, and shows great influence for good. Branches have been established at Hilo and Wailuku, Holualoa and Heeia and recently at the Sacred Heart church, Honolulu.

Confraternities of the Living Rosary, of the Holy Souls, the Holy Angels, Our Lady of Carmel, and others, established at various missions, contribute their share for the promotion of the spiritual good of the faithful.

The so-called Brotherhoods of the Holy Ghosts, much in evidence among the Portuguese, can hardly be called religious, nor even benevolent societies. Only the one attached to the Cathedral distributes alms in kind to a few poor at its annual celebration. Many of the other "brotherhoods" organize, indeed, a religious procession on or about Pentecost, mostly under the direction of a priest, but for the rest have forgotten all about the original meaning of their institution and the ceremonies they perform; their *raison-d'etre* is simply the having of a good time and the perpetuation of the customs of the old country. If unattached to any church, and uncontrolled by the missionary they frequently become sources of superstition and disorder. Besides the preceding societies there are various charitable organizations among which we merely mention the Catholic Ladies' Aid Society at Honolulu and Wailuku,

and the Catholic Service Bureau at Hilo. The C. L. A. S. at Honolulu has about 200 members. It was established February 6, 1890. Notwithstanding its small resources it is doing a great deal of good. The Hilo C. S. B. was begun in 1924 and counts some 300 members. Plans are under preparation to establish here the St. Vincent de Paul conferences at the occasion of the coming centennial celebrations, and associate with them some way or other all other Catholic charitable and social activities.

The Mission Press, once so fertile, has ceased to rotate since 1889. The Mission has a small monthly publication of eight pages in the Hawaiian language: Ka Hoolaha Manaoio (The Propagation of the Faith), with an issue of 1200 copies. They are distributed gratis to the natives who contribute the annual alms for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The need of a periodical in the English tongue had been frequently considered; before going to Rome Bishop Alencastre gave orders for the publication of a Catholic weekly. In consequence "The Church Bells" began their weekly "tolling" on October 31, 1926.

Thus is the religious situation of the Catholic Mission in fair Hawaii. Like Father Bachelot's algaroba tree it has taken firm root in Hawaii's soil, and spread wide and dense. The future is God's.

Whatever happens to the various industries of the Islands, it is hardly probable that the flow of immigration will be stopped. Cosmopolitanism will increase and complicate the missionary's linguistic problems. Even if his numbers increase in proportion to the population, the proselytizing activities of the various Protestant sects will keep him from growing indolent. Having no other religious tenets left them but that expressed in their generic name, they can now concentrate all their energy and resources to make total infidels out of the numerous merely nominal Catholics, who coming from once Catholic countries, have become ripe for apostasy by neglecting religious instruction and the reception of the Sacraments. Even were they to be successful, our churches will not be depleted, the forward march of the Church not arrested. The children of Sem and Cham will profit by the defection of the sons of Japhet. The Japanese population which long has resisted all attempts to Christianize it, seems to be turning towards Christ. Among Chinese and Koreans a rich harvest is whitening, and only waits for laborers to be gathered into sheaves. Among the Hawaiians also great numbers could be brought into the fold, had the missionary more leisure to occupy himself solely with them.

With the help of God and under the mantle of Our Lady of Peace, the missionaries of the Sacred Hearts will continue to do their duty towards the souls which the Master transplants from the extremities of the earth in the Paradise of the Pacific to be nurtured by them for Heaven.

V. C. J. S.

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